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A  
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OF THE  
HISTORY OF  
THE SPANISH AND FRENCH  
SCHOOLS OF PAINTING.

INTENDED AS A SEQUEL TO  
"KUGLER'S HAND-BOOKS OF THE ITALIAN, GERMAN, AND DUTCH  
SCHOOLS OF PAINTING."

BY  
SIR EDMUND HEAD, BART.

LONDON :  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.  
1848.





LONDON :

GEORGE WOODFALL AND SON,  
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## PREFACE.

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ANY person who has turned over Kugler's "Hand-book of Painting" in the original German, must have been struck with the summary manner in which the Spanish, French, and English schools are treated. The first of the three is disposed of in twenty-four pages, the French school occupies twenty, and that of England claims no more than thirteen. The abridged history of each school is indeed given with truth and conciseness; but there is a total want of proportion between these parts of the book and those which treat of the Italian, Flemish, Dutch and German masters. It was a sense of this defect which led me, when I undertook to edit the second part of the translation of Kugler, to propose to myself the compilation of a sketch of the Spanish and French schools, such as might serve in some degree as a manual for travellers, and might afford a cursory view of the history of art in those countries. In fact, a Hand-book ought not to aim at more than this; the reader should turn readily to the name and date of any artist, and see

where his principal works are to be found. He should likewise be able to arrive at the character and the relative place occupied by each master, whilst the general history of the school is shortly given.

The reader is probably aware of the fact, that Kugler's work is now in the course of publication in Germany, in a form somewhat different from that which it originally bore. In the new edition, the history of painting will be treated as a whole—not in separate schools. Such a plan is far better, in some respects, than that originally adopted by the author; but, on the other hand, it is often less convenient to the traveller who visits a particular country for a short time only.

I have said thus much, because I am anxious that no pretensions should be ascribed to my book which do not properly belong to it. It does not profess to contain profound reflections, or to aim at originality. I have consulted the sources of knowledge which are open to every one, and I have endeavoured to take from them such information as I thought likely to be interesting or useful for my purpose. I have not scrupled to make extracts from authors whose opinions were worth having, or whose descriptions were characteristic, and I have for the most part avoided putting forward my own notions on the originality or merit of individual pictures—feeling that any such expression on the

part of a mere amateur is necessarily worth but little. It was not, however, right entirely to withhold my own opinion, where personal observation warranted me in stating it.

On this point I wish the reader to remember, that I have no acquaintance with the school of Valencia, except so far as its productions may be seen at Madrid. The schools of Madrid and Seville I have had opportunities of studying and appreciating. The notices of the school of Aragon, contained in the following pages, are taken from the 10th volume of Minaño's "Topographical Dictionary of Spain," where they are printed from a MS. of Cean Bermudez. In their Spanish shape, therefore, they are not readily accessible to the English reader; and I believe I may say that, short as the account of Spanish painting given in this Hand-book is, it is the most complete which has appeared in England up to the present time. I am happy to hear that Mr. Stirling of Keir has completed a work of a far more elaborate character, which would make it impossible for me to assert the same thing if I were writing a few months hence.

With regard to the French school, I cannot say that I bear any extraordinary love to its productions; but I have endeavoured to give as full and as impartial an account of its progress and its results as my information and limits would permit. Professor Waagen's volume on Paris has never been translated

into English, though it is, in fact, a work far more useful to the mass of Englishmen than the same author's book on their own country. For one Englishman who sees the pictures in the private collections or country seats of England, twenty saunter through the Louvre with no sufficient guide. I have, therefore, without scruple extracted Waagen's observations on Poussin, and on other French artists; and I have done so the more willingly, because I mistrust my own impartiality. I must plead guilty to a prejudice in favour of colour—the quality most deficient in French painting. When I look at a Poussin, I never feel sure that my judgment is not corrupted beforehand; or, at any rate, the effort to appreciate its beauties necessarily diminishes my enthusiasm.

It may be thought that I have occasionally introduced irrelevant matter into the notes, and perhaps into the text. I trust that my errors in this respect are not numerous, and that some allowance will be made for an attempt to diminish the dryness of a mere list of names, places, and dates of the birth and death of each artist. I rather fear that no effort of mine can remove a fault which is inherent in the plan of the book. Second-rate and third-rate masters must be named, and yet to dwell upon them is impossible: it follows inevitably, that page after page will resemble a catalogue to be referred to rather than perused.



With regard to authorities, when no author is quoted, the reader may assume that I take my information, with reference to Spanish art, from Cean Bermudez's Dictionary. It is the less necessary to refer to it specially at every moment, because its alphabetical arrangement makes it easy to turn to any particular master. Palomino I have not relied on, though I have consulted him. Pacheco is a source less accessible to the general reader, and I am indebted for the loan of this very rare volume to Mr. Ford, whose Hand-book the reader will find quoted at every page. When the second edition of Mr. Ford's work is not specially named, the references are made to the first, in two volumes. It is unnecessary for me to say any thing as to the value of that Hand-book—a value which the public has fully recognized, by the rapid disappearance of the first edition. In fact, it contains more information as to Spain than all the volumes of travels in that country put together; and, I need not add, in a far more entertaining form. I owe at least as much to Mr. Ford's correspondence and conversation as I do to his Hand-book.

If the reader is desirous of knowing what hopes we have of gaining additional information respecting Spanish art, or, if he wishes to learn how far the political condition of the Peninsula is likely to rescue and deposit in the public galleries of Spain works hitherto unknown or inaccessible, I would

request his special attention to the Appendix which follows the text of this volume.

I will close this preface with the following story, as illustrating the knowledge of Spanish pictures, and the taste for Velazquez prevailing in England at the present day. When General Meade's pictures were exhibited at Christie's this year, there was among them a large three-quarter length portrait of the Infanta Margarita Mariana of Austria. Before the sale, when the public were admitted to view the pictures, this one was hung so high as to make it utterly impossible to be certain what it was. The dress, too, is grotesque and unprepossessing. She is attired in court mourning—a large hooped petticoat, and a sort of jacket of black, the latter of which is richly laced with white gimp, and has cut sleeves, so as to show the white satin dress underneath it. Her hair, or wig, is frizzed in the extraordinary style of the day, in regular rows of flaxen curls standing straight out on each side of her face, and at the top of her head a feather lies flat. She has no jewels but pearls, and one or two diamonds. I was not at the sale, but I presume the picture was taken down before it was actually brought to the hammer: be this as it may, some time after the sale a letter was received by a gentleman in this country from the best judge of Spanish pictures in Spain, in which the latter says that he knows the picture well; that it was one of those given by the late King Ferdinand VII.

to the Canon Cepero\* of Seville, in exchange for the two large Zurbarans that now hang in the gallery at Madrid. When Cepero was in difficulties from his political opinions, it passed into the hands of Señor Rodenas, and was sold some years later by his widow to General Meade. The writer of this letter adds, "It gives me but a very poor idea of the state of knowledge of the arts in England, when I see that a fine Velazquez has been sold for less money than many miserable daubs in the same collection have fetched." But the reader will be desirous of knowing for what it really did sell. This Velazquez, in the year 1847, in the height of the season, at Christie's, with all the dealers of London in the room, fetched *thirteen guineas!* I have since seen the picture close, and I have no doubt whatever of its genuineness. It is slightly painted, without glazing or much finish; but it is brilliant in touch, and thoroughly characteristic of the master.

\* Cepero is now Dean of Seville, and the head of the Local Commission for the Fine Arts. He lives in Murillo's house, and to him are owing whatever exertions have been made to rescue from plunder and neglect the fine pictures of Seville.

PRINCIPAL LITERARY MATERIALS FOR THE  
HISTORY OF THE SPANISH AND FRENCH  
SCHOOLS OF PAINTING.

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I. SPANISH SCHOOL.

ANTONIO PALOMINO Y VELASCO: *el Museo Pictorico y escala optica.* 3 vols. in 2, fol. Madrid, 1795-6-7.

A compendium of Palomino was printed in London in 1744, and there is sometimes bound up with it an account of the cities, churches, and convents in Spain where pictures are to be found. (1746.)

ANTONIO PONZ: *Viage de España y Viage fuera de España.* 18 vols. 12mo. Madrid, 1786-94.

D. JUAN BUTRON: *Discursos Apologeticos.* Madrid, 1726.

VINCENCIO CARDUCHO: *Dialogos de la Pintura.* Madrid, 1633.

FRANCISCO PACHECO: *el Arte de la Pintura su anti-  
quedad y grandezas.* Sevilla, 1649.

For the use of this book I have been indebted to Mr. Ford, in whose copy is the following note:—

"This book is so extremely rare in Spain, that Joaquin Cortes, the Director of the Academy at Seville, in a search of twenty years had never been able to meet with a perfect copy. Mr. Williams, of Seville, (the best judge of Spanish paintings in that country,) had never been able, even in a longer period, to see any copy except the mutilated one of Cortes.

"Mr. Heber's library did not, I believe, contain a perfect copy. Pacheco is supposed to have been the mouthpiece of the Jesuits, in his observations on the manner in which sacred subjects ought to be painted."

Cean Bermudez (iv. 14) speaks of the book as very rare, and regrets that it has not been reprinted. Compare what is said at p. 111 of this Hand-book.

D. FELIPE DE GUEVARA: *Comentarios de la Pintura* (published by Ponz). Madrid, 1788.

CEAN BERMUDEZ: *Diccionario Historico de los mas ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*. 6 vols. 12mo. Madrid, 1800.

This is the best authority on Spanish art, and a most useful work in every respect.

CEAN BERMUDEZ: *Descripcion artistica de la Catédral de Sevilla*. 12mo. Seville, 1804.

I have referred in the Preface to the notices of the Aragonese school by this writer contained in Minaño.

RICHARD CUMBERLAND: *Anecdotes of Eminent Spanish Painters*. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1782. And *Catalogue of the Pictures of the King of Spain*. 1787.

ANTONY RAPHAEL MENGES, first painter to his Catholic Majesty Charles III., his works, translated from the Italian, published by Chevalier Don Joseph Nicholas d'Azara, Spanish Minister at Rome. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1796.

M. O'NEILL: *Dictionary of Spanish Painters*. 2 vols. 8vo. London, (Simpkin and Marshall,) 1834.

F. QUILLIET: *Dictionnaire des Peintres Espagnols*. Paris, 1816.

SCHEPELER: *Beiträge zu der Geschichte Spaniens enthaltend Ideen und Notizen über Künste und Spanische Maler*. 8vo. Aachen u. Leipzig, 1828.

LOUIS VIARDOT: *Notices sur les principaux Peintres de l'Espagne. Ouvrage servant de texte aux gravures de la Galerie Aguado.*

By the same Author: *Les Musées d'Espagne, d'Angleterre, et d'Italie.*

Catálogo de los Cuadros del Real Museo de Pintura y Escultura de S. M. Compiled by DON PEDRO DE MADRAZO. Madrid, 1843. 2nd edit. 1845.

Besides this catalogue, there is the great lithographic work of the pictures in the Museum of Madrid.

FORD: *Hand-book of Spain.* 2 vols. Murray. 1845. 2nd edit. 1 vol. 1847.

Mr. Ford also wrote the article "Velazquez" in the Penny Cyclopædia.

The article on Spanish painters in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. XXVI., May, 1834, was written by the author of this volume.

## II. FRENCH SCHOOL.

FÉLIBIEN: *Entretiens sur les vies et les ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres.* 4to. 2 vols. Paris, 1688. Republished, with the *Lives of the Architects*, at Amsterdam, in 1705 in 5 vols. 12mo, and at Tre-voux in 1712, in 6 vols. 12mo.

DE PILES: *Abrégé de la vie des Peintres.* 12mo. Paris, 1712.

D'ARGENVILLE: *Abrégé de la vie des plus fameux Peintres.* Paris, 1745. 3 vols. in 4to, and 4 vols. in 8vo.

GAULT DE ST. GERMAIN : Trois siècles de la Peinture Française. 8vo. Paris, 1808.

A useful book, though sometimes inaccurate as to dates. It is now not common.

GAULT DE ST. GERMAIN : Vie de Nicolas Poussin, considéré comme chef de l'école Française. Didot. Paris, 8vo, 1806.

QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY : Collection de Lettres de Nicolas Poussin. Paris, 8vo, 1824.

I have used the Catalogue of the Louvre of 1846, in which the numbers appear to be the same as they were when Waagen's third volume on Paris was published. The title of this volume is as follows :—"Kunstwerke und Künstler in Paris, von Dr. G. F. Waagen. Berlin, 1839." It forms the third of the series in which the work on England makes the two first. The edition of Diderot referred to is that of his works, in 8vo, published in 1821. The remarks on the Salons and on Painting are contained in the 8th, 9th, and 10th volumes.

# HAND-BOOK

OF THE

## HISTORY OF PAINTING

### IN SPAIN.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON SPANISH PAINTING.

BEFORE I enter on the history of Spanish painting, and enumerate the masters who make up the schools of Spain, it is essential to say something on the peculiarities of Spanish art as distinguished from that of the rest of Europe. It must be understood that in doing this we look to the time when the great masters of Spain had assumed an independent position, and had cast off the conventional and academic gloss of those who cultivated painting on the principles of the Italians. The character of the school is not complete until it had put forth its own genuine strength; and that character is not marred or effaced by the occasional influence of foreign example. It is no doubt true that Vandyke, through Pedro de Moya, worked on Murillo: Velazquez studied in Italy; but, with all this, the foundation of the



power of Murillo and Velazquez is of native growth, and its main element is of a *naturalist* character. Spain, and Spain only, pervades their works: there are defects as well as beauties, indigenous in the soil in which the tree was planted, but its products are at least peculiar to the climate. They do not result from the accidental efforts of some one or two individuals, who studied the art or the scenery of other lands, and shed on their own country a glory essentially of foreign origin and foreign character. The contrast, in this respect, with the best painters of the French school is very strong. If we treat Nicholas Poussin and Claude and Gaspar as Frenchmen, and add to them Le Sueur and Philip de Champagne, we shall trace but little in their works which is really French, or which is common to them all\*. The pictures of some of them have never been equalled in their respective departments, but taken together they have no national character. In the works of Mignard and Le Brun in the seventeenth, and in those of David and his scholars in the eighteenth century, the case is different. In both the last sets of masters there is certainly an element characteristic of their country; whether in either case it be one which is consistent with genuine excellence in art may be doubted.

No one ever walked through a large collection of genuine Spanish pictures without feeling that a peculiar

\* Perhaps I have stated this too generally: the pedantic *classicism* of N. Poussin has certainly something peculiarly congenial with the French taste in other matters, and contains the germ of much that characterizes David and the later French school—but I shall return to this subject hereafter.

solemnity, and what may be called an ascetic spirit, pervaded the works around him. The "Beggar Boys" of Murillo, rejoicing in water-melon and merry in the freedom of their rags, may seem to convey a different impression, but they are themselves exceptions to the general rule; such pictures are rarely or never met with in Spain, though the same element of street life is seen as an accessory in many of Murillo's more serious works. It is probable too that a large number of those current under his name in foreign countries were executed by his followers Meneses, Tobar, or Villavicencio. Be this as it may, the prevailing tone of Spanish pictures is one of gloom and severity: you feel as Pacheco says he did with regard to Campaña's Descent from the Cross—afraid to be alone with it in a gloomy chapel (*"temiendo estar solo en una capilla oscura"*)\*. Joined with all this there sometimes meets us an expression of enthusiastic devotion, so that the whole result expresses the characteristic spirit of Spanish religion, which united the gloom of St. Dominic with the mystical fervour of St. Ignatius or St. Teresa.

The principal elements which composed the Spanish nation are such as rendered this combination of sternness and enthusiasm natural and easy. The haughty spirit of those Castilian nobles who formed the dominant type of the northern portions of the Spanish people, is seen clearly in their national ballads, and may be illustrated by the pretension of the grandees to wear their hats in the presence of their sovereign. With this was joined the enthusiastic temperament of

\* Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, p. 57.

southern Spain, whilst all tendency to open sensualism was, since the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, kept down by the constant pressure of the one Spanish institution—the Inquisition. I say the one Spanish institution, because it was the single common bond and link which united into one monarchy all the scattered kingdoms and lordships making up what we call “Spain.” It was easily imposed: when men are fighting day by day with the enemies of their faith on their own soil, their religious feeling is kept from stagnating by the constant current of national hatred, which stirs it up and preserves its sincerity. Italy was half-heathen in spirit when the Spaniards were struggling in a crusade against the inveterate enemies of Christendom. The zeal therefore for purity of doctrine was maintained at such a pitch, that the royal authority found little difficulty in carrying out at once its own interests and those of the church. An alliance was formed between these two elements of power. The Inquisition borrowed the kingly sword to put down heresy and misbelief, whilst it lent to the crown what was quite as valuable—the sanction of religion to a royal tribunal paramount to all the constitutional powers of the various states composing the Spanish monarchy\*.

This institution, in its spiritual capacity, watched over

\* The action of the Inquisition on the constitutional liberties of Aragon, is shown in the case of Antonio Perez. Charles V. felt the value of this tribunal to himself when he negotiated with the Pope before the Edict of Worms; his readiness to act against Luther was part of the price paid to the Pope for the control by the crown of the Inquisition in Spain. See Ranke's *History of the Reformation*; and compare his *Fürsten und Völker*, vol. i. s. 238, iii. 21, and more especially iii. s. 189.

thought, and over all the means by which thought could be expressed to others : its control over the former was of course imperfect \* ; its power over the latter was rigorously and successfully exercised. Speech, the press, and the pencil, were guarded with severity and vigilance. Our business at present is with the manner in which it regulated the exercise of the fine arts, and it is worth while to dwell for a short time on this portion of the subject, since it is in itself curious, and since it accounts in some degree for the peculiar impression created by the pictures of the Spanish school.

A strong and enthusiastic feeling of a religious character has often inspired the fine arts : we owe to such sentiments the finest and purest productions of modern painting—those which bear the impress of the

\* The joint operation of auricular confession and the Inquisition in depressing and keeping under the intellect and the spirit is well told by a sufferer in Doblado's letters. I have referred to the haughty tone assumed by the nobles in the older Spanish ballads—as illustrating the change effected by the Inquisition, let us compare the spirit implied in such words as those attributed to Bernardo del Carpio, (Duran. iv. p. 155,) when he says, in the presence of Alphonso the Chaste, whom he had bearded on his throne—

“ ———— nadie se mueva  
Que soy Bernardo, y mi espada  
A ninguno se sujeta,”

with the condition of the Spanish grandees, in the time of Philip II. or Philip III. The words of Tacitus were never more applicable than they are to this contrast—“Dedimus profecto grande patientiæ documentum ; et sicut vetus ætas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones et loquendi audiendique commercio. Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostrâ potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.” Agric. 2.

Umbrian school still strong upon them, whilst they have mingled with the original type the truth to nature and the greater freedom of Raphael's middle time. Progress in art, however, implies the study of nature; the study of nature and the exhibition of its results have continually shocked the rigid asceticism of a severe morality—a morality which makes indecency depend on the simple fact of exposure, not on the feeling in which the work is conceived. Scrupulous persons often appear unconscious that in this, as in other things, it is easy to observe the letter and to violate the spirit. A picture or a statue may be perfectly decent, so far as regards drapery, and yet suggest thoughts and ideas far more objectionable than those resulting from the contemplation of figures wholly unclothed. Still it must be owned that such a jealousy of the arts might reasonably exist in Italy at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, in the days of Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X.; when all the abominations of heathenism prevailed at Rome in practice, and when Christianity can hardly be said to have existed in theory\*. Art, however, although not the corrupter, was, like everything else, corrupted by the poison which tainted the mind of the Italians of that period; we cannot, therefore, wonder that Savonarola† and the “Piagnoni” at

\* See Ranke *Päpste*, ii. s. 73; who quotes from Caracciolo's MS. life of Paul IV., “In quel tempo non pareva fosse galantuomo o buon Cortegiano colui che de' dogmi della chiesa non aveva qualche opinione erronea ed heretica.”

† Compare *Rio l'Art Chrétienne*, p. 327 and following pages. M. Angelo, however, was a reader of Savonarola as well as a correspondent of Aretin. See Bunsen's *Rom.* ii. Th. 2, s. 280 n.

Florence, when they burnt the "accursed thing" (*anathema*) in the public market-place, should have included the profane and indecent productions of the pencil among the objects thus proscribed. It would have been strange if, amidst such universal depravity, art, interwoven as it was with the feelings and the thoughts of the Italians of those days, had escaped unsullied by the general pollution. Still it was against the abuses and the excesses of art that these efforts were directed, and the reaction in the Catholic Church under Paul IV., whilst it gave a somewhat different character to the subjects and to their treatment in the later schools, cannot be said to have acted on the cultivation of either painting or sculpture with any repressive force. The feeling of the Puritans in this country was less important in itself, and is of little moment in the general history of art, though it tended to check its cultivation in England, and dispersed the collection of Charles I.

But in Spain the case was wholly different. There it was no transient insurrection of a purer morality against the vicious extravagances of a particular period, but a constant and uniform pressure exerted without intermission on all the means of developing and cultivating the human mind, or of imparting its sentiments to others. Pacheco repeats the well-known story relating to the figure of Minos in the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo\*. Biagio da Cesena, master of the ceremonies to Paul III.,

\* *Arte de la Pintura*, p. 229; for the story itself, see Bunsen's *Rom. ii. Th. 1*, s. 291, who says that he can find no authority for the story older than Richardson. Pacheco's repetition of it shows that it was widely spread and was current at a much earlier date.

remonstrated against the indecency of the fresco on the point of being finished ; the painter in revenge placed the dignitary in hell as Minos, with long ears and a tail. A complaint to the Pope produced no other result than the answer that he was sorry for him, but could not help him out, since the Pope's power extended no further than purgatory. The contrast between Italian and Spanish Catholicism is well illustrated by such stories as this.

What was done by the Inquisition was done in earnest. Painting and sculpture came in for their share of restriction, and the nature of the discipline to which they were subjected may be gathered from the work of Pacheco. Many of the express precepts given by him were the result of traditional types, and their observation was probably considered as not absolutely essential to enable a picture to pass the censure of the official inspector. An expression of opinion, however, from a person armed with this species of authority, must have been understood as a command ; and the principles of decorum recognized by the tribunal under which he acted, may be safely inferred from the rules which he lays down. The genius of the national school of Spain cannot be properly comprehended without some understanding of the tone of legendary feeling natural to its people, and sustained by the constant influence of the clergy as well as by the institutions of the country.

Pacheco thus describes his peculiar fitness for offering advice on the decorum necessary to be observed in sacred pictures. "My remarks will serve as salutary counsel,

offered as they are at the age of seventy; all that is best and most assured in them is principally owing to the sacred religion of the Company of Jesus, which has perfected them. I find myself at this moment rich in hints and observations, the result of the advice and approval of the wisest men since the year 1605. It will not, therefore, appear alien from my profession to point out to Christian painters the method which they ought to pursue, more especially since I find myself honoured with a particular commission from the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, to denounce the errors committed in pictures of this class by the ignorance or the wickedness of artists. This commission was made out and sealed on the 7th of March, 1618: a part of it runs as follows:—‘In consideration of our regard for the person of Francisco Pacheco, inhabitant of this city, an excellent painter, and brother of Juan Perez Pacheco, Familiar of this Holy Office, and having regard to his wisdom and prudence—We give him commission and charge him henceforward that he take particular care to inspect and visit the paintings of sacred subjects which may stand in shops or in public places.’ It then goes on to say, that if I find anything to object to in them, I am to take the pictures before My Lords, the Inquisitors, in order that they, having seen them, may take such order as may be fitting therein; and it concludes with the words—‘and for this end we give him a commission such as is of right required.’”\*

\* Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, p. 470; compare Ford, *Hand-book*, p. 115.



Having thus established Pacheco's undoubted right to be heard on this subject, I shall proceed to give the reader an idea of some of the advice which he thinks it necessary to offer to artists.

Like Biagio da Cesena, he is of course grievously offended by the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo: not only the indecency of so many naked figures shocks him, but he severely censures other gross improprieties\*. Thus he says: "As to placing the damned in the air, fighting as they are one with another, and pulling against the devils, when it is matter of faith that they must want the free gifts of glory, and cannot, therefore, possess the requisite lightness or agility—the impropriety of this mode of exhibiting them is self-evident. With regard, again, to the angels without wings and the saints without clothes, although the former do not possess the one and the latter will not have the other, yet since angels without wings are not known to us, and our eyes do not allow us to see the saints without clothes, as we shall hereafter, there can be no doubt that this again is improper." In another passage, he expressly states that the Angel in the Annunciation is not to be painted as if he were coming down, falling, or flying with his legs uncovered, as some represent him, but is to be decently clothed, kneeling with both knees on the ground, with all respect and humility, before his Lady and Sovereign Queen†. It is moreover highly indecent and improper, having regard to their nature, to paint angels with beards‡.

\* Pacheco, p. 225.

† Ibid. p. 498.

‡ Ibid. p. 478.

On the general question of how an artist is to acquire sufficient skill in the figure without exposing himself to risks which the Inspector of the Inquisition is bound to deprecate, Pacheco is a good deal embarrassed. "I seem," he says, "to hear some one asking me, 'Señor Painter, scrupulous as you are, whilst you place before us as examples the ancient artists who contemplated the figures of naked women in order to imitate them perfectly, and whilst you charge us to paint well, what resource do you afford us?' I would answer—'Señor Licentiate, this is what I would do; I would paint the faces and hands from nature, with the requisite beauty and variety, after women of good character; in which, in my opinion, there is no danger. With regard to the other parts, I would avail myself of good pictures, engravings, drawings, models, ancient and modern statues, and the excellent designs of Albert Durer; so that I might choose what was most graceful and best composed without running into danger.'"

Pacheco, it is evident, did not consider the peril to which those were exposed who prepared the works of art of which the Catholic painter was to avail himself. So far as regards Albert Durer, indeed, and the ancients, they were probably, in his opinion, too far gone on other grounds to be much the worse for any little exposure to evil in drawing the naked figure; but it must be confessed it is a little hard on the masters who furnish these models for the painters of Spain, that they are to be thrust forward as a forlorn hope, whilst the others profit by their labours without incurring the same danger.

\* Pacheco, p. 272.

Risk, indeed, there may be, even in the pictures consulted by the devout artist; witness the story which Pacheco tells of the bishop who had been in the Indies, and said he would rather stand a hurricane in the Gulf of Bermuda than perform mass again opposite to a certain picture of the Last Judgment in the Augustine convent at Seville, executed by Martin de Vos, in 1570\*. Nor are awful examples wanting to warn the painter who may be inclined to transgress the strict limits of decorum; such as that which is given in the story quoted from Martin de Roa, in his "*Estado de las Animas en Purgatorio*." A painter, it seems, had in his youth, at the request of a gentleman, executed an improper picture. After the painter's death this picture was laid to his charge, and it was only through the intercession of those saints whom he had at various times painted, that he got off with severe torments in Purgatory. Whilst there, however, he contrived to appear to his confessor, and prevailed on him to go to the gentleman for whom the picture was painted, and entreat him to burn it. The request was complied with, and the painter then got out of purgatory†. The Inquisition of

\* Pacheco, p. 201; compare Ford's Hand-book, p. 116. This picture is now in the Museum at Seville; the date of 1570 is upon it. Mr. Ford tells me (for I have no recollection of the picture myself, though I must have seen it), that the lady who frightened the bishop is very easily distinguished.

† I have given this story from the two versions, one in Pacheco, p. 272; the other in Carducho, p. 121. The latter author enforces the same moral by other examples of a similar kind, and by the opinions of a number of learned authorities, p. 123; compare Ford, Hand-book, p. 116.

course took care that the sanction necessary to enforce decorum was not left entirely to Purgatory, but that errors of this kind were visited in this world also; thus we find that a painter had a penance inflicted on him at Cordova for painting "Our Lady at the foot of the Cross with a *verdugado*," (that is, a hooped petticoat, close at the hips and gradually widening,) "with a *jubon de puntas*," (perhaps a pointed boddice,) "and with a saffron-coloured head-dress;" St. John had "*calzas atacadas*," (pantaloon,) and a "*jubon con agujetas*," (doublet with points). This chastisement Pacheco considers as richly deserved\*. A painter, who was otherwise extremely devout, erred greatly in like manner, in a picture in the Carthusian convent near Seville. This was Don Luis Pasqual, who in his Marriage of the Virgin, represented her, without any mantle, in a Venetian petticoat, fitting very close in the waist, covered with knots of coloured ribbon, and with wide round sleeves, ("*mangas grandes de rueda*,") "a dress," our author adds, "in my opinion very unbecoming the gravity and dignity of this our Sovereign Lady."†

Certain it is that the old German painters must have changed their treatment of sacred subjects, or they would have led but a sorry life in Spain.

It need scarcely be said, that the precepts as to the proper mode of painting the Virgin are innumerable. The greatest caution against any approach to nudity is

\* Pacheco, p. 456.

† Ibid. p. 496; compare Cean Bermudez Diccion. ii. p. 178.

of course requisite\*. Nay, Pacheco says—"What can be more foreign from the respect which we owe to the purity of Our Lady the Virgin, than to paint her sitting down, with one of her knees placed over the other, and often with her sacred feet uncovered and naked? (Let thanks be given to the Holy Inquisition, which commands that this liberty should be corrected)." We scarcely ever, therefore, in Spanish pictures see the feet of the Virgin. Carducho speaks more particularly on the impropriety of painting the Virgin unshod, since it is manifest that Our Lady was in the habit of wearing shoes, as is proved by "the much venerated relic of one of them from her divine feet in the Cathedral of Burgos." †

It is not necessary to go through, in detail, the rules for representing properly the various events of the Virgin's life, beginning, of course, with that leading point of Spanish devotion—the Immaculate Conception—a subject so often and so beautifully executed by Murillo. In painting this subject, the Virgin was to be from twelve to thirteen years of age, of surpassing beauty and clothed in blue and white: she is often placed in the crescent moon and tramples under her feet the dragon, as the woman in the Revelations ‡.

\* Pacheco, p. 486, p. 189; compare Hand-book, p. 212. I take the rule of not showing the Virgin's feet to apply to such subjects as those of the Conception and the pictures in which she appeared in full dignity. If the feet were never shown at all, one does not see how the fact of her wearing shoes or not was material.

† Carducho, p. 117; compare Pacheco, p. 491.

‡ See Rev. xii. 1; compare S<sup>ti</sup> Bernardi opera (Antwerp. fol.

Pacheco\* does not appear to approve of the common subject of St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read; a subject painted by Roelas in the Merced Calzada at Seville. His reasons are curious: after admitting that the Virgin might have assumed the outward show of learning from her mother out of humility, on the same principle that Christ remained subject to his parents, he goes on to say—"There can be no doubt that the glory and

1609) p. 262. *Sermo de beatâ Mariâ*: "Mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus ejus—in capite ejus corona stellarum duodecim." St. Bernard, however, was an opponent of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception; see his Letter to the Canons of Lyons (Ep. clxxiv.) p. 1539. He says, cogently enough, "Si igitur ante conceptum sui sanctificari minimè potuit, quoniam non erat; sed nec in ipso quidem conceptu propter peccatum quod inerat; restat ut post conceptum in utero jam existens sanctificationem accepisse credatur: quæ excluso peccato sanctam fecerit nativatem non tamen et conceptum." The reader may refer to Pacheco, p. 482; Hand-book, p. 266; and to Doblado's Letters, p. 25 and note A, as well as to Zuñiga, *Anales de Sevilla*, iv. 265, for the manner in which the Papal Brief, recognizing their favourite mystery, was received by the inhabitants of Seville. With regard to the dragon, Pacheco says he avoided it if he could (p. 484). Ribadineira (*Flos Sanctorum*, p. 26) thus speaks of the Immaculate Conception: "Deus enim tantâ illam suæ gratiæ copiâ inundavit, quantâ decuit eam, quæ jam Dei filio mater erat destinata, quæque superbum Stygii draconis caput erat obtritura." That the Immaculate Conception still preserves its hold in some countries, is shown by a pamphlet published at Liege in 1835, on the miracles wrought by a medal stamped with its emblems. The Corsicans, in the eighteenth century, after the refusal of the King of Spain to accept the sovereignty of the island, placed their state under the protection of "the Immaculate Conception." Valery compares this to the Florentines choosing Christ as their Gonfaloniere; but there is something far bolder in the idea of submitting to the abstraction of an event. See Valery, *Voyage en Corse*, i. p. 91.

\* Pacheco, p. 490.

perfection of the Virgin must have been too great for her to need the teaching of mere created beings; for coming professedly to receive instruction from her mother goes to show some imperfection in her nature, and denotes ignorance of that which is taught. Now God accumulated in her all the privileges which he had diffused among all his creatures; from the first instant of her most pure conception she possessed perfect use of reason, free will, and contemplation; she saw the divine essence; science, natural and supernatural, was poured into her, more abundantly than it was granted to Adam or to Solomon." Under these circumstances it is clear that Pacheco is right as to the impropriety of representing the Virgin as learning to read of her mother. In like manner, Maria de Agreda maintained that if the Virgin did not talk from the time of her birth, it was not because she was unable, but because she did not choose to do so\*.

Pacheco in his rules for the Annunciation mentions, of course, the lilies which are so constant an accessory in this scene. He says that the lily in the hand of the angel signifies the exaltation of the Virgin from the state of lowliness to the great and lofty dignity of Queen of Heaven †. If the reader will refer to the Quarterly

\* See Bayle, Dict. art. *Agreda*, note A.

† Pacheco, p. 499; compare Qy. Rev. lxii. p. 130; Ford's Handbook, p. 267. The passage quoted from the old ballad of Tristan will explain what is meant:—

"Allí nace un arboledo  
Que azucena se llamaba  
Cualquier muger que la come  
Luego se siente preñada."—Duran. iv. 22.

Review, he will find an allusion of a more recondite character, and which is probably the right one.

The attention bestowed by artists on the pictures of the Virgin was, as might be expected, repaid by an occasional miracle, of which the following may serve as a specimen:—A painter was engaged in a chapel of a church in finishing a picture of the Virgin, of whom he had already completed the face, half the body, and one arm. Whilst he was proceeding with the hand holding the child, the planks of the scaffolding, on which he stood at a great height from the ground, suddenly gave way: the artist, with perfect faith, exclaimed to the image, “Holy Virgin, hold me up!”—No sooner had he uttered the words than the figure stretched out from the wall the arm which was already painted, and held the painter fast. The scaffold, with all the apparatus, fell to the ground with such a crash that the persons in the church rushed in, thinking that the roof had fallen: to their astonishment they saw the Virgin, whose figure was not yet entirely painted, with her arm coming out from the wall and holding up the artist. Amid exclamations of devotion and surprise they fetched a ladder and took the painter down, when the Virgin quietly drew her arm back again into the picture\*.

Lope de Vega, in his Hymn to the Virgin, in the *Peregrino en su Patria*, p. 21, addresses her as “Palma de Nazareth, limpia azucena.”

\* Pacheco, p. 119. The reader will be reminded of the celebrated miracle of St. Vincent Ferrer, who seeing a mason fall from the top of a house, though he wished to save him, did not venture to do so without the permission of his superior. The man was suspended in mid-air; St. Vincent went back to his convent, obtained leave to per-



In discussing the proper manner of painting the nativity of Christ, Pacheco says that he is always much affected ("*causa me gran compassion*") at seeing the infant Jesus represented naked in the arms of his mother. The impropriety of this, he urges, is shown by the consideration that St. Joseph had an office, and it is not possible that poverty should have obliged him to forego those comforts for his child, which scarcely the meanest beggars are without\*.

One fertile subject of dispute among the artists and theologians of Pacheco's day, appears to have been the proper method of representing the nails by which Christ was affixed to the cross. I should scarcely think it desirable to dwell on this point if it were not for the very characteristic arguments with which the opinions on either side are supported. Doubtful points of sacred history, not recorded expressly in Scripture, are held by the Spanish writers to be best settled by authentic visions: for instance, the dress of the Virgin, in representing the Immaculate Conception, is to be blue and white, for in this dress she appeared to Doña Beatriz de Silva, a Portuguese nun, who founded the order of the Immaculate Conception†. Thus, too, the nature of our Lord's sufferings, when crowned with thorns, is established by a special revela-

form the miracle, came back again and let the mason down. See Ford's Hand-book, p. 448. I am afraid the miracle of the image, in the text, does not rest on any great authority. Pacheco cites Lope de Vega, and it will be found accordingly in his "*Peregrino en su Patria*," p. 96.

\* See Pacheco, p. 484; compare 505, 506.

† Ibid. p. 482.

tion to St. Bridget\*. In the case of the number of nails used in attaching Christ to the cross, Pacheco argues strongly for four, and supports his own views by appending an essay written by Don Francisco de Rioja, who appeals to the visions of St. Bridget in this matter also†. He attributes the heresy of three nails to the Albigenses, and cites Bellarmine in favour of the four; but the strongest argument in this case too is taken to be the fact that the stigmata of St. Francis, which were not mere wounds, but actual protuberances representing the nails, were four in number‡: had these marks been wounds only, they would clearly have proved nothing. Ribadineira expressly says, "*Relicta quoque fuerunt in ejus manibus pedibusque clavorum capita rotunda et nigra; ipsa vero acumina oblonga, retorta et quasi reperiussa, quæ de ipsâ carne surgentia carnem*

\* Pacheco, p. 536.

† Ibid. p. 596.

‡ Ibid. p. 601. My object is not to enter into these points themselves, but simply to illustrate the spirit which pervaded the Spanish school of painting. It may be observed, however, that as a matter of antiquity and tradition Pacheco is probably right. According to M. Didron, (*Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne*, p. 196, note,) the placing the feet one over the other, and fastening them with one nail, was not introduced till the 12th or 13th century. So far as the Roman custom goes, it appears from the passage in the *Mostellaria* of Plautus that each limb was fastened separately:—

"Ego dabo ei talentum, primus qui in crucem excucurrerit;

Sed eâ lege ut offigantur his pedes, his brachia."—II. i. 12.

It must be added, however, that Lipinus (*de Cruce*, cap. ix.) puts a different interpretation on these lines. Gregory Nazianzen, who lived in the 4th century, calls the cross *ξύλον τριπέπλον*; and the legend of the Invention of the Cross, as given by Lord Lindsay in his *Sketches of Christian Art*, implies three nails, sec. 1, p. lxxiii.

reliquam excedebant." \* Carducho does not appear to think the question material †, but Palomino is decidedly in favour of the three instead of four nails ‡. He, too, feels the necessity of supporting his views by the precise testimony of some recent saint, but he cites one of more than doubtful authority—Maria de Agreda; indeed, he quotes her with a reservation that he only assents to what she says in so far as that assent is warranted by the state of her cause (at Rome), by the decrees of the church, and of Pope Urban VIII. §

I shall have occasion to speak hereafter of the effect of the principles of the Spanish school, as they are manifested in the works of individual artists. We are told that Luis de Vargas was a model of Christian piety. He confessed and communicated constantly; showed the

\* Ribadineira, *Flos Sanctorum*, Cologne, 1630, fol. p. 488, in vitâ Sti. Francisci. Octob. 4.

† Carducho, p. 114.

‡ Palomino, ii. p. 226.

§ I have already referred to some of the views of Maria de Agreda respecting the Virgin. As Bayle says, the only wonder is that the Sorbonne confined itself to saying that her proposition was false, rash, and contrary to the doctrine of the gospel, when she taught that God gave the Virgin all he could, and that he could give her all his own attributes except the essence of the Godhead. The condemnation of Maria de Agreda's life of the Virgin was not carried in the Sorbonne without the greatest opposition and tumult. The book was also censored at Rome, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Spanish ambassador. The Spanish feeling, with reference to the Virgin, and more particularly to the doctrine of her Immaculate Conception, went too far for the rest of Catholic Europe: it was impossible for the Pope and the French Church to sanction at once the absurdities that Spain was quite ready to adopt. See Bayle, *Dict. art. Agreda*; *Biographie Univ.*; and Southey's *Tale of Paraguay*, note to Canto iv. st. 17.

greatest humility, and at his death all sorts of hair-shirts and disciplines were found, which bore testimony to the rigid devotion of his life. Juanes again prepared himself for painting by confession and communion \*. The Carthusians of Zurbaran and the Jesuits of Roelas give us the very essence of those orders. There is often, too, as Frederick Schlegel has remarked, a visible endeavour on the part of the Spanish painters to make the state of inspired ecstasy a subject of art. They strive, he adds, to express the sentimental, but it is tinged with melancholy; their sorrow is of a great and severe character †.

A great deal more might be written on the mythological views which form the groundwork of Spanish pictures—but I have probably said enough to give the reader some idea of the feeling with which such works of the Spanish school as bear a distinct national character are, for the most part, imbued. I do not now speak of the pictures of Velazquez: his nationality was based on other elements, which must be considered specially when he is treated of.

\* Pacheco, p. 118. This is according to the course recommended by Archbishop Arundel—"Whan that an ymage maker shall kerve, caste in moulede, or peynte ony images, he shall go to a prieste and shryve him as clene as if he sholde than dye, and take penaunce, and make some certeyn vow of fastyng, or of praiynge, or of pilgrimage-doinge, praiyng the prieste specially to praye for hym, that he may have grace to make a faire and devoute ymage."—Trial and Examination of Master William Thorpe, Prieste, for Heresye, before Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, 8 Hen. IV., A.D. 1407. Howell's State Trials, i. p. 196; from Fox's Arts and Monuments.

† Fr. v. Schlegel, *Ansichten und Ideen von der Christlichen Kunst*, Wien, 1823, B. vi. s. 82, 84.

## CHAPTER II.

## EARLY SPANISH MASTERS.

THE conviction that no art worth notice existed before the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries, has probably deprived us of information with reference to the early history of painting in Spain, which might have been accessible to Palomino and even to Cean Bermudez. As it is, our materials for any such account are as scanty as possible. Pablo de Cespedes\*, in his essay addressed to Pedro of Valencia, in 1604, says, "In the parish church of St. Peter, in our city of Cordova, on the right-hand wall, there are many paintings of those times," (that is, before the invasion of the Mahometans,) "which escaped the barbarous fury of the Moors when they held that place, though they have not escaped the ravages of time and the neglect of those entrusted with the care of the church. The consequence is that they are scarcely intelligible from the injury which they have received, and the dust which has accumulated upon them. This sort of painting, rude and savage as it is, appears to have been the ashes whence was destined to spring that fairest Phoenix of modern art, which has since burst forth in such splendour and richness."

The names of three illuminators of manuscripts of the 10th century, *Vigila*, *Sarracino*, and *Garcia*, are given by Cean Bermudez; and Pedro of Pampeluna, in the 13th century, transcribed the Bible of Alonzo the

\* The fragments of Cespedes are printed at the end of the 5th volume of Cean Bermudez's Dictionary. See p. 295.

Wise, preserved in the library of the cathedral of Seville. It is likely that much additional light may yet be thrown on the early history of Spanish art, by a careful search in the libraries still existing in that unhappy country.

Schepeler\* is probably right when he says that any investigation into the history of art in Spain previous to the year 1500 ought to distinguish between the two great branches of the monarchy; that is to say, between Castile, with its Gothic aristocracy and its western chivalry, and Aragon, involved in all the commerce of the Mediterranean, and from time to time connected with the Levant and the Byzantine empire. The truth is, however, that the whole subject is wrapped in obscurity; nor can we wonder that it is so; it is not very long since the industry of the Germans called in the aid of original documents to correct or confirm the gossip of Vasari with reference to early Italian art; and the German schools of the 14th and 15th centuries have only recently become the subject of sound critical investigation. Until lately the differences between the schools of Cologne and those of Westphalia, or Nuremberg, were matters completely unknown. In Spain we have no such groundwork as Vasari to work upon; we have had no Boisseree collection; we have not had access either to the monuments of art or the records which relate to them; nor is there the same national interest acting on men capable of performing the task, as has stimulated the Germans in unravelling the pedigree of their own native schools.

\* Beiträge zu der Geschichte Spaniens, p. 94.

Singularly enough we have traces of a very early Spanish painter in England. The name of *Petrus de Hispaniâ* first occurs in the accounts of works at Westminster in the 37th year of Henry III. (1253)\*. Mr. Gage Rokewode tells us, that when the great hall was repaired "in 1255 he was ordered to repair the painting in the king's oratory near his bed. In 1257 the king ordered his treasurer and chamberlain to pay to Master Peter de Hispaniâ, whom he had retained in his service to make pictures when required, sixpence for his wages daily so long as he was employed in the king's service; and also to pay to the same Peter ten pounds for his expenses, in going with his clerk of Toulouse, to parts beyond the seas and in returning; and for two shields which he had made for the king's use and brought to him at Chester. These shields were probably enamelled, and we suspect that Peter de Hispaniâ excelled in the art of decoration."†

In Spain we find that, in the years 1291 and 1292, *Rodrigo Estéban* was painter to King Sancho IV.; in a MS. in the Royal Library there is recorded a payment to a master of this name. What the work was to which the payment related, or what other works he executed, is entirely unknown. Between Rodrigo Estéban and the year 1500, Cean Bermudez records the names of 25 painters, of whom the earliest was a Catalonian, *Juan*

\* This is the year before the marriage of Prince Edward with Eleanor of Castile, which took place in the chapel of "Las Huelgas," in October, 1254. See Dunham's Hist. of Spain, ii. p. 184; Ford's Hand-book, p. 903.

† Account of the Painted Chamber, fol. London, 1842, p. 26.

*Cesilles*. A retablo of his, in the church of Reuss, was executed in 1382 and removed in 1557. Two others of this number were *Gerardo Starnina* and *Dello*; both Florentines, and both mentioned by Vasari \*. *Starnina* was born in 1354; he was a pupil of Antonio Veneziano, and was easily prevailed on to leave his native city, where he had got into a quarrel. Vasari tells us that he worked much for the king in Spain, and returned thence not only rich and in great esteem, but having profited much in his manners and disposition from his residence in that country. His words are, "Dove imparò a essere gentile a cortese—poscia che egli in quelle parti divenne in guisa contrario a quella sua prima natura, che ritornando a Fiorenza, infiniti di quelli, che inmanzi la sua partita a morte l'odiavano, con grandissima amorevolezza nel suo ritorno lo ricevettero e poi sempre sommamente l'amarono sì fattamente er' egli fattosi gentile e cortese." Vasari is not consistent with himself as to the date of *Starnina's* death, which he alleges to have taken place at the age of 49. One of his pupils was *Masolino da Panicale*.

*Dello* was not only a painter, but a sculptor also, and the terra-cotta of the Coronation of the Virgin over the door of the Hospital of St. Maria Nuova at Florence is by him. The subjects painted by *Dello* were, according to Vasari, mostly small, and his drawing was not good. He received, however, high honour in Spain, was knighted by Juan II., and returned rich to Florence; but unfortunately foreign travel does not seem to have done as much for his popularity or courtesy as it

\* Vasari, i. p. 197, 8.



effected for those qualities in Starnina. The reader will see in the note a very curious and characteristic story told by Vasari of the circumstance which was one of the main reasons inducing the painter to return to Spain: there he spent the remainder of his life\*, and is supposed to have died about 1421, at the same age as Starnina. Here, then, in the fourteenth and early in the fifteenth centuries were two points of contact between the art of Florence and that of Spain; it is probable there were many more such of which we know nothing. No works of either master are known to exist in Spain.

I ought next to notice the very curious ceiling of the Sala del Tribunal, in the Alhambra at Granada. Better engravings of these paintings than we formerly possessed will now be found in Mr. Owen Jones's work on the Alhambra†. Plates 46, 47, and 48, give the general subject; pl. 50 represents a tracing from a single head of the original size. Mr. Jones observes that very little reliance can be placed on the strict observance of the precepts of the Koran respecting art by the Granadan Moors; the sarcophagus at the foot of the Torre de la Vela, in the Alhambra, is one proof of their disregard of such prohibitions. In fact there was an evident dispo-

\* Vasari, i. p. 222. Dicesi che tornando Delle a casa a cavallo con le bandiere vestito di broccato ed onorato dalla Signoria, fu proverbato nel passare per Vacchereccia dove allora erano molte botteghe d'orefici, da certi domestici amici che in gioventù l'avevano conosciuto, o per ischerzo o per piacevolezza che lo facessero, e che egli rivolto dove aveva udito la voce, fece con ambe le mani le fiche, e senza dire alcuna cosa passò via: sicchè quasi nessuno se n'accorse se non se quegli stessi che l'avevano uccellato.

† Folio. London, 1842.

sition on the part of the Moors to adopt some of the habits and luxuries of western chivalry, and the coat of arms of "El Rey Chico"—the bend gules with the name of Alla on it, so common throughout the Alhambra—is a good example of this sort of fusion which will occur to every one. We know, too, that the prohibition of the Koran did not prevent the employment by the Grand Signor of Gentile Bellini.

Mr. Jones tells us, "The ornaments moreover which are introduced into these paintings are strictly of a Moorish character, as may be seen in detail in plate 49 : another strong presumption in favour of their being the work of the Moors, exists in the construction of the domes ; the plaster ornaments round the curve and in the spandrels are original Moorish work, which the Spaniards in their restorations of the palace never attempted to imitate."

"The subject of this painting (that on the ceiling of the Hall of Justice) is considered by the Spaniards to represent a tribunal, whence they have called this hall 'Sala del Tribunal.' From the different colours of the beards and dresses of the figures, they would appear to represent the heads of the tribes of Granada. These paintings are of bright colours, but in flat tints, and were first drawn in outline in a brown colour. They are painted on skins of animals sewn together, nailed to the wooden dome ; a fine coat of gypsum forming the surface to receive the painting. The ornaments on the gold ground are in relief."

There appears no Gothic character in the subject represented in plate 46, but there is something much more

like the spirit of northern chivalry in the painting of the left-hand alcove given in plate 47. The subject of this ceiling is a lion and a bear hunt, undertaken partly by Moors and partly by Christians. One Christian knight is presenting a dead bear to his lady. Mr. Jones says, "Notwithstanding the want of perspective and knowledge of drawing, there is much spirit in the details, and the female figures especially are most graceful." Of the right-hand alcove he adds, "It is difficult to convert the several subjects of which this painting is composed into one probable story: the chief group, that of a Moor killing a Christian, may be taken as a strong presumption of the paintings being the work of a Mohammedan artist, as it appears unlikely that it would have been so represented by a Spaniard after the conquest of Granada."

It scarcely seems to follow, however, that they were not the work of a Christian artist; perhaps, as Mr. Ford conjectures, they were painted by some renegade, before the conquest. The evidence is strong that they were executed whilst the Alhambra was the palace of the Moorish kings\*. The details of the dress and arms of the Spaniards and Moors are exceedingly curious. The Christian knights ride with the lance in rest protruding through the usual notch in the shield over the right breast; the Moors use their javelins over-handed: the Christians wear rowelled spurs; the Moors have the end of the stirrup formed into a spur, and ride with short stirrups†. The

\* Compare Ford's Hand-book, p. 379; Argote, pascos por Granada, ii. p. 164.

† This Moorish seat with short stirrups is, I imagine, what is

swords of the Moors are not scimitars, but long, straight, and broad in the blade.

If we return to the chronological list of Cean Bermudez, we find among the painters of the fifteenth century, at the court of Juan II. of Castile, a Fleming, *Maestro Rogel*, who is supposed to be the same person as the celebrated scholar of Van Eyck, Roger of Bruges \*. He

meant in the Spanish ballads by the phrase "*Caballero á la gineta*," as opposed to the seat of the heavy-armed knights, in which the purchase was obtained by straightening the leg in the stirrup, with the high croupe to the saddle behind, and the body leaning forward with the lance in rest. Thus in the ballad of the Moor who was pursued by the Cid from Valencia (Duran. ii. p. 139), the costume of the former is thus described :—

"Hélo, Hélo, por do viene  
El moro por la calzada  
*Caballero á la gineta*  
Encima una yegua baya,  
Borceguies maroquies  
Y espuela de oro calzada  
Una adarga ante los pechos  
Y en su mano una azagaya."

In Lord Berners' "*Froissart*," Henry of Trastamara, when reckoning his forces before the battle of Najera, is made to say, "I have thre thousande *barded horses*, the whiche shall be two wynges to our batayle ; and I have also seven thousande *genetours*," (cap. ccxxxvi.). In another ballad the Moor Arbolan is called

"El mas gallardo ginete  
Que jamas tuvó Granada—  
*Diestro en una y otra silla.*"

That is to say a good horseman, either in the Moorish fashion or in the seat of a knight, as occasion might require (Duran. i. p. 44). With regard to the swords, see Ford's Hand-book, p. 853.

\* Rathgeber, *Annalen der Niederländischen Malerei*, s. 13, 43 ; Waagen, *Deutschland*, ii. 309. It is now discovered that Roger of Bruges and Roger Van der Weyde were one and the same person. See Eastlake, *Materials for History of Oil Painting*, p. 217.

executed an oratory or portable altar-piece which Juan II. gave to the Carthusian convent of Miraflores near Burgos. This altar-piece, I lament to say, after having been in England, has, like many other works, passed from us, and is now never to be recovered. Waagen, in his 'England,' speaks of it as the travelling altar of Charles V., which was bought (?) from the cathedral of Burgos by a French general, the Vicomte d'Armagnac, and was offered for sale in London, in 1835, by a French painter, Berthon, for the price of £3000. It was then held to be the work of Memmeling, but a comparison of Waagen's description with that given in Cean Bermudez leaves very little doubt of its identity with the oratory of Maestro Rogel from Miraflores. It now belongs to the King of Holland \*. The subjects of the three pictures are, the Virgin under a Gothic canopy with the new-born child, the dead Christ in the lap of his mother with Joseph of Arimathea and St. John, and the apparition of Christ to the Virgin after his resurrection. In the extract from the archives of Miraflores they are called "*Nativitatem Jesu Christi, descensionem ipsius de cruce, quæ alias quinta angustia nuncupatur, et apparitionem ejusdem ad matrem post resurrectionem.*"

It is a singular fact that the great master, John Van

\* See Waagen, *Deutschland*, ii. s. 309; Kugler's *Hand-book*, German and Flemish Schools, p. 81; also Passavant in the *Kunstblatt* for 1843, No. 59; and Niewenhuy's *Catalogue Raisonné* of the pictures of the King of Holland, Brussels, 1843. Compare Cean Bermudez, iv. 234; Waagen's *England*, ii. 234. I do not understand why Waagen continues to call it the travelling altar of Charles V.: it may no doubt have served as such, but it was executed for a much earlier prince, as I have stated in the text: with reference to Miraflores, see Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 903.

Eyck himself, was once in the Peninsula. When Philip the Good of Burgundy sent an embassy to solicit the hand of Isabella, daughter of John I. of Portugal, John Van Eyck, who was valet-de-chambre to the Duke, accompanied the ambassadors and painted the portrait of the princess\*. This embassy set sail in December, 1428, and did not leave Portugal on its return until October of the following year.

Another foreign master who painted in the reign of Juan II., or immediately afterwards, would appear to have been an Englishman; at least he is called *Maestro Jorge Ingles*. The great Marquis of Santillana, Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, directed in 1455 that this painter should execute the *retablo* in the church of the hospital of Buitrago. This *retablo*, or a portion of it at any rate, containing the portrait of the marquis himself and of his wife, was in existence in the time of Ponz; and I infer, from what is said in Cean Bermudez's article on the painter, that the portrait of the marquis was engraved by the order of the Duke del Infantado, patron of the establishment for which the work was executed. What has become of the *retablo* I know not; it is described as having great merit of its own, and it would have been doubly interesting on account of its preserving the likeness of so celebrated a person as the Marquis of Santillana.

The masters of Seville in the fifteenth century whose

\* See Rathgeber, *Annalen*, p. 36, and Raczynski, *Les Arts en Portugal*, pp. 195, 196, where abundant testimony to this fact will be found. Rathgeber says the embassy with the princess left Portugal on the 8th of October, 1429, and arrived on the coast of Flanders on Christmas Day.

names are known to us are, *Juan Sanchez de Castro*, *Pedro Sanchez*, *Juan Nuñez*, and *Gonzalo Diaz*.

The first of these painted, in 1454, a *retablo* which formerly stood in the chapel of St. Joseph in the cathedral of Seville, but which appears to have been taken away in Cean Bermudez's time. His fresco in St. Julian, in the same city, executed in 1484, has been repainted; but Mr. Ford tells us that there is in the same church a Holy Family by him\*. He was alive as late as 1516. From the archives of the cathedral of Seville it is ascertained that Pedro Sanchez worked there in the year 1462. Juan Nuñez was a pupil of J. Sanchez de Castro: one of his pictures was taken out of a chapel in the cathedral two or three years before Cean Bermudez wrote. Another picture of the Virgin holding the dead body of Christ is described by the same author as very good, and is still to be seen in the "*Cuarto de los Subsidios*," attached to the cathedral†. A small *retablo* by Gonzalo Diaz of the year 1499 had been so retouched, that Cean Bermudez speaks of it as ruined‡.

If we turn to Castile we find *García del Barco* of Avila and *Juan Rodriguez* of Bejar, employed in 1476 by the Duke of Alba to execute "*Obra Morisca*," as it is termed in the contract, in his palace of Barco di Avila. The expression "*Obra Morisca*," probably meant something in the nature of the patterns, which, in the Alhambra and the Alcazar of Seville, are

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 269.

† Ibid. p. 250.

‡ *Descripcion Artistica de la Catedral de Sevilla*, p. 67.

formed in stucco; mingled<sup>\*</sup> perhaps with other ornaments which would bring it nearer to the character of Italian Arabesque. It is at Toledo, however, that the most numerous traces of artists of the fifteenth and of the beginning of the sixteenth centuries are to be found. We learn from Mr. Ford's Hand-book that the Archbishop Tenorio caused the cloisters, which he founded in 1389 on the site of the Jews' market, "to be painted in fresco in the style of Giotto, with subjects which are described by Ortiz, who particularly specifies groups of heretics burning. These extraordinary and almost unique specimens of art in the fourteenth century, were all effaced in 1775 by the barbarian chapter, who employed the feeble Bayeu and Maella to cover the spaces with their commonplace academical inanities, whose raw modern tones mar the sober Gothic of all around." \* In 1418 *Juan Alfon* painted certain *retablos* in the same cathedral. *Juan de Borgoña* †, *Pedro Berruguete*, and *Antonio del Rincon*, were three more of the many masters who contributed to decorate this wonderful structure. *Juan de Borgoña* executed the Conquest of Oran in the Muzarabic chapel, as well as the paintings in the *Sala capitular del invierno*—the winter chapter-house. The resemblance be-

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 848.

† It may be doubted whether *Juan de Borgoña's* name alone is sufficient to mark him as a foreigner. There was a sculptor and architect who was sometimes called *Felipe de Borgoña*, and sometimes *Felipe de Vigarny*, and who is said to have been born at Burgos. He, too, worked at Toledo at the very beginning of the fifteenth century, and had a brother, *Gregorio*, who was also a sculptor. The inscription, however, in the Cathedral of Toledo gave his name as *Philippus Burgundio*. Compare *Cean Bermudez*, *Diccion.* v. p. 228—231; *Widdrington's Spain* in 1843, i. p. 10.



tween these last and the school of Perugino is, as Mr. Ford remarks, exceedingly striking: they are sometimes erroneously attributed to Berruguete. I can hardly understand, however, how the same man who executed these works in 1511, could paint the Conquest of Oran in 1514; since the inferiority of the latter is to me very strongly marked. It is possible that the unusual nature of the composition and of the subject may account for the difference in some degree.

With Juan de Borgona is associated, in the records of the cathedral, the name of *Alvar Perez de Villoldo*, respecting whom, however, nothing more seems to be known. He is too late to be the same person as the Portuguese painter, *Alvaro di Piero*, named by Vasari in his life of Taddeo Bartoli \*. The existence of Pedro Berruguete as a painter was for a long time doubted, but appears to be incontestably established, both by the archives of the cathedral of Toledo and by the will of Lázaro Diaz, his grandson, quoted by Cean Bermudez. Pedro was the father of Alonso Berruguete, whom I shall hereafter have occasion to mention.

*Antonio del Rincon* was a native of Guadalajara, and

\* See Vasari, p. 204; compare Raczyński, *Les Arts en Portugal*, p. 197, 274. Vasari says—"Alvaro di Piero di Portogallo che in Volterra fece piu tavole, ed in St. Antonio di Pisa n'è uno, ed in altri luoghi altre che per non esser di molta eccellenza non occorre farne altra memoria." The editors of the recent edition of Vasari (Florence, 1832—1838) say, that no other author speaks of this artist. I presume he is the master after whom Ruscheweyh engraved an exquisite little plate of the Annunciation in 1822, but I know not where the original of this plate is to be found. On it the painter's name is given as "*Alvarez Petri*," with the date of 1422.

was born about 1446 ; he painted with Berruguete in the sacristy of the cathedral of Toledo, but his great work was the altar-piece of the village of Robledo de Chavela, a few miles to the west of the Escorial. This was still in its place, I believe, in 1893 ; whether it be there now is more uncertain \*. A Virgin and Child, attributed to A. del Rincon, is in the Spanish Museum of the Louvre. He also painted the portraits of Ferdinand and Isabella, " the Catholic kings," and that of Antonio de Nebrija, which were formerly in the church of St. Juan de los Reyes, at Toledo ; copies of the two first of these pictures appear to be in the Madrid Gallery (Nos. 1646, 1647) ; and there are two more, either copies or duplicates, which bear the name of Rincon, in the Capilla de la Antigua, at Granada. The light is bad, and the pictures are injured, but they have some of the richness and transparency of the Venetian school †.

*Fernando del Rincon* was the pupil of his father Antonio. I do not know that any picture of his can be referred to as now in existence, but he worked with Juan de Borgoña and others at the great *retablo* of the cathedral of Toledo. His name appears also in the archives of Alcalá de Henares, as employed in executing some gilding and decoration there ‡. It must be borne in

\* See Ford's Hand-book, p. 801 ; For. Qy. Rev. xxvi. 242. Mr. Ford, in his second edition (p. 459), says they have disappeared.

† I have heard a suspicion expressed, that some mistake exists as to the portraits supposed to have been in the church of St. Juan at Toledo, and a conjecture that they had been confounded with the portraits at Granada. See Ford's Hand-book, second edition, p. 155.

‡ See Ford's Hand-book, p. 843 ; Cean Bermudez, iv. 199.

mind that work of this description was often performed by the very first Spanish masters, who did not disdain to pick out and finish in colour or gilding the wooden statues, or the shrines in which the statues stood\*.

The brothers *Antonio* and *Iñigo de Comóntes* were also scholars of Antonio del Rincon. The latter painted, in 1495, the History of Pilate on the wall at the side of one of the doors of the cathedral of Toledo, and in 1529 he executed another work in one of the porches. I believe that no portion of these pictures remains. *Iñigo de Comóntes* had a son, *Francisco de Comóntes*, who held the office of painter to the Chapter of Toledo from 1547 to 1565, when he died.

*Frutos Flores* was employed at Toledo on the same *retablo* as Fernando del Rincon. The name of Flores is Flemish, and we have, as might be expected at this time, other masters besides him and Juan de Borgoña, who appear, from their names, to have come from the north of Europe. *Juan Flamenco*, *Juan de Flándes*, and *Francisco de Ambéres* are three such. Juan Flamenco has by some been supposed to be one and the same person with Hans Memmeling, or Hemling: but in the volume of Kugler which contains the history of the Flemish schools I have stated reasons for not acquiescing in this view†; there is at any rate no evidence to support it. The great works of Juan Flamenco

\* Thus Pacheco (p. 589) boasts of the excellence of his painting of the head and hands of the St. Ignatius sculptured by Montañes for the Jesuits of Seville; compare p. 408.

† Hand-book of German and Flemish Schools, p. 92.

were the two altar-pieces in the Carthusian convent at Miraflores, executed between 1496 and 1499. Juan de Flándes executed, in the year 1509, the *retablo mayor* of the cathedral of Valencia; it contained eleven subjects, and he was to receive for it 500 ducats of gold. Francisco de Ambéres was a sculptor or carver as well as a painter, and he worked with Juan de Borgoña in the Muzarabic chapel \*.

The Spanish master whose works are generally spoken of as most closely resembling those of the early German school was *Fernando Gallegos*. He was born at Salamanca in the latter half of the fifteenth century, and died there, at an advanced age, in 1550. His pictures are said to have been confounded with those of Albert Dürer, but considerable allowance must often be made in admitting these assertions of resemblance between the works of artists of different countries. I have never seen anything by Gallegos. Count Raczyński conjectures that certain pictures in the Academy at Lisbon may be by him †. Cean Bermudez mentions the altar-piece in the chapel of St. Clement in the cathedral of Salamanca as an authentic work of his, and

\* Captain Widdrington speaks of certain old and curious paintings in the cloisters of the cathedral of Leon. He says, "the style resembles the early Florentines, between Giotto and Masaccio, and is really good work." They are, however, much injured.—Spain and the Spaniards in 1843, ii. p. 56.

† See Raczyński, *Les Arts en Portugal*, p. 322. These pictures came from Thomar, but the supposition that they are by Gallegos is a mere conjecture. The name of Gallegos has been applied without discrimination to a whole class of early pictures.

attributes to him others in the same city, on the ground of their resemblance of style. Mr. Ford refers to these pictures as still in their places, and thinks, moreover, that the Descent from the Cross, in the Royal Chapel at Granada, is by the same master. Some have attributed to Gallegos the paintings of the *retablo* in the choir of the Dominican convent at Avila\*.

I do not believe that any specimen of the works of Gallegos exist in the Madrid Museum, the Spanish gallery at the Louvre, or the collection of Marshal Soult.

It ought also to be observed, that in the sixteenth century, before the full influence of Italian poetry and art burst upon Spain, single masters from the schools of Italy worked in the latter country. Thus *Nicolas Francisco Pisan* was painter to "the Catholic kings," and executed two oratories with the date of 1504, which were preserved, in the time of Cean Bermudez, in the Alcázar of Seville; and I shall refer hereafter to *Francisco Neapoli* and *Pablo de Aregio*.

It is not easy to attempt any general character of the early Spanish painters; their works have disappeared from the public view, and they are not to be seen in the great Museum even of their native land. Schepeler says—"A person curious in art will find pictures of a date earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century only in churches, chapels, or old buildings; such a picture may be thrust away in corners or in magazines under a heap of worthless woodwork; for

\* Compare Ford's Hand-book, pp. 388, 576, 806.

† Ford's Hand-book, p. 439.

the Spaniard neither knows nor values anything which does not fall exactly within the favourite period of art. Even in the Museum of Madrid and the royal palaces works of the earlier times are not to be found. Ordinary persons throw all such pictures into one general class, and baptize them by the name of "Albert Dürer," or the "German school," though it is difficult to conceive that this one source could have poured such a mass of its productions over Spain in the fifteenth century. This idea, however, was so rooted in men's minds, that Palomino makes Fernando Gallego, who flourished in Castile in the beginning of the sixteenth century, to have been a scholar of Dürer's, because his works resemble those of the German. Cean does not, indeed, go so far as this, but he says that the German style then prevailed throughout Europe; and he, in fact, assumed every thing which that century produced as belonging to the German school.\*

In another passage this author says—"So far as I saw of the early Spanish school, it appeared to me to possess certain characteristics, which remained more or less evident in the artists of the more brilliant period. The colouring is not so bright as that of the old German

\* Beiträge zur Gesch. Spaniens, s. 107, 109, 110, 111. With regard to Schepeler himself as a military writer, see Ford's Hand-book, p. 136, 2nd edition, p. liv. I wish to be distinctly understood as not vouching for the accuracy of all the remarks on art quoted from this writer, though, on the other hand, I have no special reason for mistrusting most of them. He is referred to by Kugler in his sketch of the History of Spanish Painting. The book from which these quotations are made is a miscellaneous sort of volume, containing, among other things, some curious documents relating to the Armada of 1588.

painters, but there is in it and about it a sort of softness which produces the effect of a veil thrown over the picture; an effect which we might perhaps call breadth of colouring. This quality, visible in most of their works, even of the subsequent period, they called atmosphere or '*ambiente*.' In the following period the warm colouring of the Venetians had powerful charms for the Spaniards, and exercised its influence the more readily because the breadth of the former school fell in with the peculiarities of the latter. If we add to these qualities a broad and full pencil readily following the artist's glowing fancy, we shall have seized some of the principal characteristics of Spanish painting.

"The constituent elements of fine Spanish colour differ from those which go to make up the analogous quality in the masters of the Low Countries, just as the colour of the inhabitants of the one country differs from that of the natives of the other. The white or red skin of a Spaniard seems to be laid over an under-surface of an olive tint, whilst that of a Fleming covers a bright red ground. With all the brilliancy, therefore, of Spanish colouring, it often seems dusky to an eye not accustomed to it; and many of the best painters appear to be deficient in positive colour.

"There is, however, another quality which must be observed in all Spanish pictures, and that is the character of the drapery. Even in the fifteenth century the Spanish masters could not prevail upon themselves to compose their drapery as stiffly as those of other nations, nor did they do it as successfully; some one or two pieces always show that the half oriental artist, if he was

not thinking of the light drapery of the East, could not help executing it, and had not patience to spend much time on that execution. It is, therefore, very rare to find a Spanish picture with a cast of the drapery which is entirely pure; and to this may be added the fact, that in most great compositions one or two figures are more or less carelessly executed."

What the author goes on to say connects itself more properly with a later period in the history of art, but it will be better to refer to it here as relating to the whole subject of Spanish drapery. He observes, that out of the Murillos in the Royal Museum at Madrid (which, by the way, is not a good place to look for the best specimens of Murillo) there are but two with really noble drapery, and that only in the principal figures. "Murillo," he says, "never folded linen otherwise than in the Spanish fashion." It is necessary to distinguish carefully the *cast* of the drapery from the *execution* of it: no one ever executed white linen better than Murillo, but it is perfectly true that we often miss in Spanish paintings that element of simplicity and dignity which gives such a charm to the drapery of the best Italian masters, and shines through even the fantastic folds of the German schools. The early masters imparted a moral expression to the fine solemn breadth of their drapery, and this they derived from the architectural principle of stiffness pervading all old Italian pictures. Nor is an analogous dignity wholly wanting in some Spanish pictures; the dress of the Carthusians and the other religious orders gave fine models for this species of excellence: to quote one instance, it is impos-



sible to say that the famous picture of Zurbaran, formerly in the college of S<sup>to</sup>. Tomas, at Seville, wants dignity or breadth in the drapery. Still in many of their works, especially where monks form no part of the *dramatis personæ*, the cast of the drapery is unsatisfactory. There was not in Spain, as in Italy, a new principle ready to come into action, and replace with excellence of another kind the stiff symmetry of the older schools. In the latter country the study of the antique in the fifteenth century, and the constant recourse to nature in her best models, developed a new source of beauty and dignity. But few Spanish painters had opportunities of studying the antique, and the prudery of Spanish Catholicism, as we have already seen, guarded by the Inquisition, threw hindrances of another kind in their way. Where such a general rule prevailed as that the Virgin's foot must not be shown, no great success could be expected in making the drapery of a figure what Goethe has called it when well treated—"the thousand-fold echo of the form," even if such a result would have been tolerated.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### PROGRESS OF SPANISH PAINTING—CONNEXION WITH ITALIAN ART.

It is not easy to write the history of any school, either of art or literature, in a strict chronological order. The line which separates two ages is not a definite one;

individuals always exist whose peculiar turn of intellect or whose accidental position has placed them in advance of the movement, or has kept them back and made them representatives of by-gone feelings. This is remarkably the case in Spain, where painters worked in the solitude of the cloister, and where devotional feeling was so strongly imprinted on the mind; external influences could not at once prevail. Schepeler observes:—

“Although in the middle of the sixteenth century the influence of the revolution in art had already become visible throughout Spain, yet we find up to that period, and even towards the end of it, highly esteemed masters whose works properly belong to the fifteenth century. Luis de Morales is one of these; he was born in Estremadura, learnt his art there, and lived till 1590. His works unite the melting colour of Coreggio (whom he had never seen) with a hardness and irregularity in the drawing which belong to the fifteenth century.”\*

This supplies an illustration of what I have already said: Coreggio died in 1534; no picture of Morales appears to be known of an earlier date than 1546; yet without a doubt, on the mere internal evidence of their respective works, we should place Morales at least fifty years before Coreggio. Indeed, this last master himself, viewed in his relation to the Italian schools around him, furnishes another instance of the same kind: nothing is more striking than the manner in which he appears to belong to a period far later than that in which he really lived. My object, however, is not now to dwell on Morales as a painter, since I must return to him in his

\* Beiträge, s. 111.

proper place, but simply to point out to the reader that, in attempting to follow the order of time, it must not be expected that every individual master will fall into what may appear to be his proper place.

I have already spoken of individuals whose names show that foreign art had found its way into Spain at an early period ; but the time was to come when the feeling of the nation in painting, in poetry, and in architecture, was destined to be revolutionized by the influence of Italy. The moment was a fortunate one in some respects, since the power and wealth of the Spanish monarchy in the reign of Charles V. furnished the means for gratifying to the utmost the new-born taste. His wars became subservient to the same end. Boscan, Garcilaso de Vega, and Diego de Mendoza familiarized their countrymen with that Italian versification and feeling, which, though not unknown before, had never prevailed over the native school of the Peninsula until their time. It is a singular spectacle to see men, who were by profession soldiers,—and that not in times when war was a gentle game,—themselves the agents in changing the taste of a whole people by introducing into their own literature a softer element from a conquered country. Garcilaso was killed young in an assault on a fort. Mendoza would appear to have united in himself qualities and functions apparently the most incompatible. One and the same man was the ambassador of the proudest monarch in the world at the Council of Trent; and wrote the original model of all the numerous romances of thieves and blackguards—*Lazarillo de Tormes*. He ruled Italy with the stern severity of a Castilian soldier, whilst he

imitated in his native language the most plaintive love sonnets, and collected ancient Greek MSS. even from Mount Athos.

In the arts of design a similar revolution was effected, and a school appears, corresponding in its relative position to that of Franz Floris and Otho Venius in the Low Countries: Nor does the parallel cease here: in Spain, as in Brabant at a later time, after a certain number of years, the native element burst through the classic mannerism which had certainly served to refine and elevate the taste of the country. In Flanders the eclectic principles of the semi-Italian masters faded before the genius of Rubens: in Spain, in the next century, the under-current of native character burst forth in the pictures of Zurbaran, Murillo, and Velazquez. They profited indeed by the works of foreign masters, but their true Spanish feeling, whether for Andalusian devotion or Castilian dignity, completely overpowered the feeble exotic element to be traced in the works of those painters who formed the link between Spain and Italy.

It will be well to begin by noticing one or two Spaniards who are known to have painted in Italy, in the first half of the sixteenth century. Vasari tells us that many came from France, Spain, and Germany, to study in the school of Perugino\*; and among these he mentions particularly *Giovanni Spagnuolo*, "who," he says, "coloured better than any other of those whom Pietro left at his death. This Giovanni would have stopped in Perugia after Pietro's death, if the envy of the painters of that city, who were bitter enemies of

\* Vita di P. Perugino, pp. 422, 423, 427, n. 63.

foreigners, had not persecuted him in such sort that he was obliged to retire to Spoleto. Here, on account of his virtue and excellence, a lady of good blood was given him in marriage; he was made a citizen, and executed pictures in this and other cities of Umbria. At Ascesi he painted the picture of the chapel of St. Catherine, as well as that in the lower church of St. Francis, for the Cardinal Egidius, who was a Spaniard, and also one in St. Damian. In S. Maria degli Angeli, in the little chapel in which St. Francis died, he painted some half figures of the size of nature, that is to say, several of the companions of St. Francis and other saints, full of life, and he placed in the midst a St. Francis in relief."

The editors of the recent edition of Vasari inform us, however, that there is proof of Giovanni having married at Spoleto, and become a citizen there eight years before the death of Pietro Perugino. These little inaccuracies are not uncommon in Vasari. The Cavaliere Fontana ascribed to Giovanni the Ancajani picture of the Adoration of the Kings, which tradition had more correctly attributed to Raphael\*.

But Giovanni, although he appears in Cean Bermudez's Dictionary under the name of Juan de España, really belongs to the Italian school, and I must refer the reader to the first volume of Kugler's Hand-book†, where he will find him placed next to Raphael among the scholars of Perugino.

\* This picture, which is executed on cloth in distemper, is now at Berlin; see Longhena, *Vita di Raffaello*, pp. 23, 24, n.; and Passavant, *Raphael*. It was well engraved by Eichens in 1836.

† See Kugler, *Ital. Schools*, p. 162.

It has been conjectured that the two masters, *Francisco Neápoli* and *Pablo de Aregio*,—who executed the doors of the *retablo mayor* in the cathedral of Valencia,—were pupils of Leonardo da Vinci, on the ground of the resemblance of their style to his. Mr. Ford says they are painted in a Florentine manner, but adds that Villanueva thinks them to be the works of Felipe Paulo de S<sup>ta</sup>. Leucadia, a Burgundian artist. He adds, that they were ordered and paid for in 1471, by Rodrigo Borgia\*. Cean Bermudez, on the other hand, assigns them to the year 1506, apparently on the authority of Ponz. A certain *Pedro Francione* has been spoken of as a Spanish artist of merit, about the year 1521, whose works were to be found in some churches of Naples; but I know nothing of him†.

*Alonso Berruguete* was the principal agent in diffusing the Italian taste throughout Spain. He was the son of Pedro Berruguete, of whom I have already spoken, and was born at Paredes de Nava, near Valladolid, about 1480. He began life as "*Escribano del crimen*" to the Chancery of Valladolid, that is, as an attorney on the crown side. "From the desk of chicanery he passed into the noble studio of Michael Angelo," for in 1503 we find him at Florence, where he is named among the students of the cartoon of the war of Pisa‡. In the

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 439.

† Cean Bermudez, Diccion. ii. p. 135.

‡ Ford's Hand-book, p. 639. The date is given by Cean Bermudez on the authority of Vasari. It is true that Vasari speaks of Berruguete as one of the copyists of the cartoon of the war of Pisa, but this cartoon was certainly not finished even in 1504; compare Lanzi, i. 133; Longhena, Vita de Raffaello, p. 29, n. Some pas-

life of Filippo Lippi, Vasari speaks of a picture of that master, "which after his death was very well carried forward," (*tirata assai bene inanzi*), by Alonso Berruguete, but was finished by other painters after the departure of the latter for Spain\*. In Rome we find him mentioned among the artists whom Bramante commissioned to model the Laocoon in wax, of the full size, with a view to having it cast in bronze. From among these models Raphael selected that of Sansovino, which was accordingly executed in metal for the Cardinal Grimani, and by him taken to Venice, whence it passed to France in the year 1534†. Lanzi says truly enough that Berruguete is not named by Vasari as one of the regular scholars of Michael Angelo, but simply as a student from his cartoon‡.

Like Michael Angelo, Berruguete was architect, sculptor, and painter; in all those arts he held a position analogous to that which Garcilaso de Vega occupied in poetry. His architecture was the Spanish style of the "*renaissance*" which they call "*plateresque*," from the character of the ornament prevailing in it§. On his

sage of Vasari, however, to which Cean Bermudez refers, may have escaped me; those to which I allude are in the life of Baccio Bandinelli, p. 780; and in the life of M. Angelo, p. 983; compare Pacheco, p. 335.

\* Vasari, p. 406.

† Ibid. Vita de Sansovino, p. 1070.

‡ Storia della Pittura, i. p. 143.

§ See Ford's Hand-book, p. 123; and Qy. Review, No. CLIII. This name is a very good one: the decorative parts are put together on the principle of arabesque—small and generally in low relief; the details are classic in themselves, but their application to the whole partakes of the Gothic principle. No better type of the

return to Spain, Berruguete was employed by Charles V. at Madrid, and on his new palace in the Alhambra of Granada. The *retablo* of the Colegio del Arzobispo, at Salamanca, and the portal of the nunnery of S. Espiritu in the same city, are designed by Berruguete. A large portion of the work of the stalls in the choir of the cathedral of Toledo, and some of the statues on the gates of that city, are also by him \*. It is more difficult to point to Berruguete's pictures : I do not find the one at Palencia, which is referred to by Cean Bermudez, in Mr. Ford's Hand-book, and we may, therefore, safely conclude that it is no longer to be seen there. His name does not appear in the Catalogue of the Madrid Gallery, nor in that of the Spanish Museum in the Louvre. Berruguete was one of the chamberlains of Charles V. †, and died in 1561. Much more than he really executed has been attributed to him, as is the case with every master whose name marks an epoch in the history of art.

That the study of art was not held derogatory to the nobility of Spain, is shown by the example of *Don Felipe de Guevara*, author of the "*Comentarios sobre la pintura*," which were published by Ponz in 1788. Don

style can be cited than the Casa del Ayuntamiento at Seville, which was built 1545-64. (Hand-book, p. 261.) Silversmith's work, in our days, would be far better if the "plateresque" principle, which is admirably adapted to produce an effect of richness in metal, without distorting the form, were more generally applied.

\* See Ford's Hand-book, pp. 579, 581, 834, 842 ; other works of architecture and sculpture by Berruguete will be found enumerated in Cean Bermudez's Dictionary.

† See Pacheco, p. 93.



Felipe was the grandson of Don Ladron de Guevara, Lord of Escalante and Treceño\*. His father, Don Diego, had been page of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, and afterwards ambassador in France on behalf of Charles V. Don Felipe accompanied the Emperor to Bologna on the occasion of his coronation there in 1530, as well as in his expedition against Tunis in 1535. On the former occasion he made the acquaintance of Titian. He died in 1563.

The courtesy of Charles V. towards Titian, if we believe the popular story of his picking up that artist's brush and rebuking the contempt shown for a painter by some of his suite, must have had considerable effect in raising the social rank of artists in Spain, and may have softened any scruples on the part of such men as D. Felipe de Guevara. Titian's own journey to Spain is an important event in the history of art in that country, more especially when we consider the decided influence of the Venetian school which is visible in many of the works of later Spanish masters.

Palomino, on the authority of Ridolfi, says that Titian came to Spain in 1548, and remained there till 1553. Cean Bermudez, on the other hand, maintains that Titian visited Spain shortly after the execution of his second portrait of Charles V., which was painted at Bologna in 1532, when Charles was returning from Hungary. Had he really made the journey in 1548, he would then have been no less than seventy-one; an age

\* On the name "Ladron" see Ford's Hand-book, p. 931. The "casa solar" of the Ladrones de Guevara is in the town of Guevara, between Vittoria and Pampeluna.

at which it scarcely seems probable that he would have undertaken such a journey. Again, Titian is said to have painted the portrait of the Empress, who died in 1538.

Against this view there is the date of a patent of nobility given to Titian whilst in Spain, and said by Ridolfi to be dated in 1553. Cean Bermudez supposes that this must be a clerical error of the copyist for 1535, since Charles himself was not in Spain in 1553—the year during seven months of which he was so closely shut up in Brussels, that many believed him to be dead\*. The Venetian artist, like Berruguete, was one of the Emperor's chamberlains. It is impossible to say which of Titian's pictures, out of the enormous number now at Madrid and the Escorial, were executed in Spain; many were purchased by Philip III., and some, we know, came from the collection of Charles I.

*Pedro Machuca* was another Spaniard, contemporary with Berruguete, who studied in Italy. He was superintendent of the works in the Alhambra, and lived at Granada, where some of his productions as a sculptor still remain. Like M. Angelo, he added a knowledge of engineering to the professions of architect, sculptor, and painter; and the citadel of Pampeluna was strengthened by him. He is one of "the Eagles," or great painters mentioned in the curious extracts from the MS. of Francisco de Holanda which have been published by Count Raczyński†.

\* Cean Bermudez, v. 30; Palomino, ii. p. 377; Pacheco, p. 93. Pacheco tells us that Charles V. paid Titian at the rate of 2000 ducats for middling-sized pictures, and 1000 ducats for every portrait. (Pacheco, p. 66.)

† Compare on Machuca, Cean Bermudez, Diccion. iii. p. 38;

The Spaniard, however, who, next to Berruguete, did most to diffuse the Italian taste in the fine arts among his countrymen, was *Gaspar Becerra*. He, too, was painter, architect, and sculptor, but exercised most influence in the last capacity. He was born in 1520 at Baeza, a place which claims the far greater honour of having given birth to the 11,000 virgins—an honour, however, as Mr. Ford observes, filched from England\*. It is evident that Becerra could not, as has been asserted, have been a pupil of Raphael, who died the year of his birth; but he might have studied under M. Angelo, and he assisted Vasari in some of his works in the Vatican†. He was married at Rome in 1556 to a Spanish lady, and returned to Spain shortly afterwards. In 1563 Philip II. made him his court-painter, and he was employed in executing the frescos in the Palace of Madrid and in that of the Pardo. His works in the former perished in a fire in 1735. I do not know of any easel pictures by Becerra; such may exist, but there are none in the Catalogue of the Madrid Gallery. Mr. Ford‡

Raczynski, *Les Arts en Portugal*, p. 55; Ford's *Hand-book*, pp. 274, 371, 376, 1004. Francisco de Holanda, in the same passage, mentions among these great painters a certain *John* (*Juan*) of Barcelona as remarkable for colour. I do not know who this master was.

\* Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 603.

† See Lanzi, *Storia della Pittura*, i. p. 143.

‡ This *retablo* at Astorga is, I am told, one of the finest things in Spain. It is entirely carved in wood. The coloured sculpture of the Peninsula forms a peculiar feature in the history of art in those countries. I may refer the reader to the *For. Qy. Review*, No. XXVI., p. 264, and to Mr. Ford's *Hand-book*, pp. 109, 110. Not that coloured sculpture or carving, the size of life, was unknown elsewhere; and a very curious example of it may be seen in the south

describes the *retablo* in the cathedral of Astorga as "perhaps his master-piece; it is one of the most remarkable of its kind in the Peninsula, but unfortunately it has been much repainted. It is divided into three parts; the frame-work of the under-story is supported by Berruguete pillars; the second tier has fluted columns and enriched bases; the third, pilasters in black and gold. The carvings represent subjects from

aisle of the cathedral of Volterra. It appeared to me the oldest specimen of this kind, consisting of several figures, which had come under my notice. The subject is the Taking Down from the Cross; on each side are St. John and the Virgin; one figure holds the middle of the body of the Saviour, whilst another is unfastening the feet, or taking them up. The figures are tall and meagre, like the type of Christ in the Greek crucifix. The expression of the figure of Christ is good; the body too flat, but well executed. It is difficult perhaps to suppose these figures to be anterior to the school of Pisa; they may belong to the middle or end of the thirteenth century, and are the work of some artist of considerable mechanical skill who imitated the paintings of that day. In Italy the study of the antique, and the subordination of religious enthusiasm to other principles, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, probably arrested the further progress of this branch of sculpture. In Spain, on the other hand, there was nothing to weaken that craving for life-like idols—not genuine works of art—which the unrefined taste and defective imagination of the vulgar so eagerly long for. A powerful priesthood, free from the heathen taint of the Papal court, availed themselves of these means, and great masters, men of real genius, applied themselves to meet the demand thus created. No one who has seen the Christ of Montañes, for instance, in the Cartuxa at Seville, can doubt the power of such works, though their effect is often painful, and alien from the proper principles of the fine arts. In the Andalusian school, Cano and Montañes were the greatest masters in painted sculpture; Juni and Hernandez among the Castilians. For further details I must refer the reader, in this as in other matters, to Mr. Ford's Hand-book; see for Astorga, p. 592.

the life of the Saviour and Virgin; observe especially the Pietà, the Ascension and Coronation of the *Santisima*, and the Five recumbent Females and *Michael—Angelesque*, ‘Charity.’ These nudities gave offence, and were about to be covered, when the *Consejo* of Madrid interposed. These grand carvings are very Florentine and muscular.” The crucifix in the *retablo* of Medina del Campo is also supposed to be by Becerra. Although these works are in sculpture, not painting, I refer to them as showing the school to which the master belonged. Becerra died at Madrid in 1570.

The account given by Palomino of *Hernan* or *Fernando Yañez* is utterly inconsistent with itself and with other well-ascertained facts: that author states the painter to have been a pupil of Raphael’s, who died in 1520, and to have died himself, at the age of a little more than fifty, about the year 1600\*. The fact is, however, that Yañez might have been a pupil of the great Italian master, since he worked in Spain in 1531, as is shown by the will of Don Gomez Carrillo de Albornoz. Mr. Ford describes the style of Yañez as more Florentine than Roman†. I cannot refer to any work of this master, except those executed for the chapel of the Albornoces at Cuenca, and to one which bears his name in the Spanish gallery of the Louvre.

Before we proceed to the remaining masters of what may be called the middle period of Spanish painting—the period when the arts of the Peninsula were under

\* Compare Palomino, iii. p. 399; Cean Bermudez, *Diccion*, vi. p. 15.

† Hand-book, p. 867.

the immediate action of Italian models—we ought to return to a master whose name has been already mentioned—*Luis de Morales*. It has been said that the works of Morales, in their feeling and execution, bear the stamp of an age earlier than that to which chronologically they belong. No painter's name has been more ignorantly and wantonly misapplied than that of the "divine Morales." Every head of our Saviour which came from Spain, and could not be called a Murillo, has been attributed without scruple to this artist\*.

It has been supposed that this painter's name was Cristóbal Perez de Morales, but Cean Bermudez has made it clear that he was properly called Luis, and that Cristóbal was in all probability his son. Morales was born at Badajoz, early in the sixteenth century; for Philip II., on his return from Portugal in 1581, saw the artist and said to him, "You are very old, Morales?" to which he replied, "Yes, Sire, and very poor." Philip then conferred on him a pension of three hundred ducats, and he died in his native city in 1586. Cean Bermudez denies that he could have been a pupil of Pedro Campaña, who did not come to Spain till a short time before 1548, whereas there are pictures by Morales which bear the date of 1546. There is certainly nothing in the styles of the two masters which would lead us to conclude that the one had been instructed by the other.

\* It should be stated, however, that there was another artist of no great note, *Francisco Morales*, a lay brother of the Carthusian monastery of Paular. He was born in the Azores in 1660, and died in 1720.

Pacheco speaks of Morales as deficient in drawing: whilst in describing a highly finished picture of a head of Christ, he observes that the beard of the Saviour was so elaborately painted as to exceed in fineness, not merely the work of Morales, but even that of Albert Durer\*. The author of the Hand-book says, "He painted chiefly Saviours crowned with thorns, and *Madonnas dolorosas*; he finished highly, and was the Parmigianino of Spain, being defective in his lengthy drawing and often dark colouring. He painted many large pictures, which, from lying out of the way, are scarcely known."† All that can be said is, if Morales obtained the surname of "divine" from the nature of the subjects which he painted, few Spanish masters of his day painted any other subjects, and he can hardly be called peculiar in his choice of them. Pacheco finds fault with the liberty he sometimes took, of painting his *Ecce Homos* without the reed in the Saviour's hand, and even without the crown of thorns‡.

With regard to the pictures of Morales to be seen in public galleries, the Madrid collection contains six attributed to him (viz., numbers 45, 49, 110, 120, 157, and 537). The third of these is a picture of the Circumcision, in which there is a tinge of Florentine manner; the females on the left hand are very beautiful. No. 120 is a head of Christ of considerable merit. No. 157, a Virgin and Child, has again something of Florentine colour. The new Spanish collection at the Louvre

\* Pacheco, pp. 320, 321. † Ford's Hand-book, p. 524.

‡ Pacheco, p. 538.

contains three pictures which bear the name of Morales, and which are thus commented upon by the writer of the articles on this collection in the *Kunstblatt* \*.

"Fervent faith and religious enthusiasm made Morales a great painter; his countenances of Christ breathe nothing but the most sublime expression of self sacrifice and resigned love. The features are thin, but they are delicate and noble, and always bear the stamp of that divine humility with which our Redeemer bore the insults of the soldiers and the shame of the cross. This character of resignation is visible even after death, and a wonderful expression is concentrated in the cold head (No. 141) which the Virgin gazes on in her lap, whilst she checks the cry of grief because she holds in her arms the Saviour of the world. The colouring of Morales is warm and brilliant. His Christs (No. 139 and 140) remind us of a Descent from the Cross by Quintin Metsys, in the Museum at Antwerp (see § 36, 3); but his conception is far more sublime, and his execution much more earnest in feeling than that of the Flemish master. Morales might be called the Spanish Perugino, since with him it was that pure Christian feeling ceased in the school of Castile. He died at Badajoz in 1586."

Waagen † speaks of the Christ carrying his Cross in the old gallery of the Louvre, but professes himself incompetent to determine its genuineness. My recollection of this picture is, that it bears a very faint resemblance to any genuine Morales; the writer in the *Kunstblatt* calls it "more than problematical."

\* *Kunstblatt* for May, 1838, s. 155.

† Paris, s. 634.



In Spain there is a Christ by Morales in the Sacristy of the Church of Osuña; and in the convent of the order at Alcantara, over the high altar, there are injured pictures of this master, the "best of which are a fine St. Michael, a St. John, a Pentecost, an Apostle reading, and a Resurrection—doubtful." \* The pictures by Morales, in his native city of Badajoz, were formerly the finest in Spain, but the French took away the four best from the cathedral, and those which remain have been repainted. Mr. Ford particularly directs the traveller to observe a Crucifixion with a Parmigianino-like old man †. In the parish church of Arroyo del Puerco, a wretched village between Merida and Placentia, are sixteen of the finest pictures ever painted by this master. The author of the Hand-book says—"Twelve are very large; and although chilled, dirty, and neglected, they are at least pure. The altar divides them into two portions, which again are subdivided into two tiers, each tier containing four pictures, three large and one small. The subjects are, 'Christ in the Garden;' 'Bearing the Cross;' 'The Annunciation;' 'Nativity;' 'Christ in Limbo' (very fine); 'St. John preaching;' a 'St. John' (three-quarter length), and a 'Saviour bound,' its companion (both very fine); the 'Descent' (fine); the 'Burial;' the 'Christ and Joseph of Arimathea' are grand; 'Adoration of Kings;' 'Circumcision;' 'Ascension of Christ;' the 'Pentecost;' 'Saviour with the reed;' and 'St. Jerome.' It is miraculous how these pictures escaped the French, who long occupied the hamlet." ‡

\* Ford's Hand-book, pp. 326, 546. † Hand-book, p. 524.

‡ Ibid. p. 546.

At Evora, in Portugal, there was a celebrated picture by Morales, of Christ on the Cross, in the chapel of the monastery of St. Catherine of Sienna. The composition was supposed to be taken from a smaller picture of Michael Angelo's. On the right of the cross were the Virgin, the Magdalen, and St. Catherine: on the left St. John, St. Dominic, and St. Francis. In the upper part of the picture on a label were the words—" *Pater ignosce.*"\* In the Hotel Saldanha-Castro at Lisbon there is a St. Dominic by Morales, respecting which Count Raczynski entertains no doubt.

With regard to works of Morales in private collections elsewhere, especial notice should be taken of that in the possession of the Duke of Dalmatia; but I do not know whence it came. The subject is one constantly selected by this artist—the body of Christ taken down from the Cross, or what is called in Italy a "*Pietà.*" The figures are half lengths: it is exquisitely finished, and evidently with a most careful study of nature. The features are too thin, and the chins pointed: the marks of physical suffering are not softened in the least degree, but are rather exaggerated. Thus the thorns piercing Christ's head are painfully minute and true; one comes out again from beneath the skin, and two others show externally the blue mark occasioned by their having been pressed by main force into the flesh. In the Aguado collection, which was sold at Paris a

\* I do not understand from Count Raczynski's account whether this picture is still to be seen. See on the subject of Morales, *Les Arts en Portugal*, pp. 89, 275, 277, 327, 518.

short time ago, there were two pictures attributed to Morales. Passavant considers the Christ bearing the Cross, in the collection of Sir Thomas Baring, and the S<sup>ta</sup>. Veronica in the Grosvenor Gallery, as works of a later master; at least if the picture of Marshal Soult be a genuine production of the painter \*. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of the altar-piece in Magdalen College Chapel, which has been attributed to Morales without a shadow of reason.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a distinct school of art seems to have arisen at Saragossa, the existence of which is hardly known †.

When the cathedral of Saragossa had been raised to the rank of a metropolitan church by John XX., devotion increased in the diocese, and the fine arts began to flourish. This was especially the case with painting, which profited by the confiscated property of the Templars. At that time *Ramon Torrente*, who died in 1323, and his pupil *Guillen Tort*, flourished at Saragossa and enjoyed considerable credit. They executed figures in the Gothic style for the metropolitan church and for others of the diocese, and were the first artists in this city respecting whom we possess any certain information

\* See Passavant, *Kunstreise*, ss. 66, 130, 162; compare Waagen, *England*, ii. s. 251.

† These notices of the earlier masters of Aragon are translated from some extracts from a MS. of Cean Bermudez, published by Minaño, *Diccionario Geografico-Estadístico de España y Portugal*, Madrid, 1828; see vol. x. p. 80. My attention was first called to this account of the Aragonese school by Mr. Ford. The same materials will be referred to hereafter.

supported by documents. There is no account of any other Aragonese painter, until we come to the year 1457, in which *Bonant de Ortiga* lived; he was painter to the Deputies of Aragon, and executed the altar-piece of St. Simon and St. Jude for the church of St. Francis in Saragossa, on the orders of Don Ramiro de Funes, Lord of Quintos.

*Pedro de Aponte* succeeded him; he was a native of Saragossa, and painter to Juan II. of Aragon, for whom he executed the panels of the *retablo* of San Lorenzo which stood in the cathedral. On the death of this king, his son, Ferdinand V., took Aponte with him to Castile in 1479, and made him *pintor de cámara* to the Catholic kings. He afterwards painted the portraits of these sovereigns, who conferred on him various honours and rewards. He had previously studied in Italy with Luca Signorelli and Ghirlandaio, and had brought their maxims and precepts of art to Spain: it is on this account as well as because he was distinguished by the Catholic kings that he must be considered as the true founder of the Aragonese school.

*Thomas Pelegret* also spent some time in Italy, and studied in Rome under Polidoro da Caravaggio. On his return to Spain, in the reign of Charles V., he established himself at Saragossa. There he executed frescos in chiaro-scuro for the churches and on the façades of the houses, and it was he who inspired the Aragonese with that good taste and excellence in this kind of art, and in ornament generally, which they have never lost. A certain *Cuevos*, born at Huesca, was a pupil of Pele-

gret. He adorned the sacristy of the cathedral of his native town with works in black and white, and painted the "*monumento*"\* for the Holy week. Cuevos and his master both died at Saragossa; the former young; the latter at the age of eighty-four.

## CHAPTER IV.

### MASTERS OF THE MIDDLE PERIOD OF SPANISH ART— INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN ARTISTS ON THE SCHOOLS OF THIS TIME.

BEFORE I turn to the native Spanish masters who would next demand our attention, it may be desirable to speak of certain foreign artists who resided and worked in Spain, or whose pictures exercised an extensive influence there, in the sixteenth century.

*Michael Coxis* came to Spain, having been charged with the execution of the copy of Van Eyck's great picture, which formerly hung in the chapel of the palace at Madrid†. When in that capital, he was employed by Philip II. to execute several other pictures in the Escorial. One of them, a St. Cecilia, is now in the Royal Gallery at Madrid (No. 499), which also contains

\* See Blanco White, *Doblado's Letters*, p. 285. The "*monumento*" is a temporary structure erected in every church, with more or less splendour, in which the host is deposited with great solemnity on the Thursday in Passion week.

† See Kugler, *Hand-book, German and Flemish Schools*, p. 68, n. 208; compare Carducho, p. 151; Cean Bermudez, i. p. 369.

an Assumption, originally painted by Caxis for the church of St. Gudule at Brussels, but purchased by Philip (No. 1598).

Palomino\* speaks of a certain *Antonio Flores*, a Fleming by birth, as having lived at Seville at the same time as *Campaña*, and having died there in 1550. Cean Bermudez found that the pictures which bore the name of Flores were proved by the archives of the *Merced Calzada*, in which they were, to have been painted by *Francis Frutet*, a Fleming, and there was no doubt that the Burial of Christ, in *Sta. Maria de Gracia*, which also bore the name of Flores, was the work of the same master. Palomino, therefore, seems to have made some confusion between Francis Frutet and Francis Floris; nor is it easy to clear the matter up.

The real name of Floris was *De Vriendt*, and considering the disfiguring process which foreign names undergo in Spain, it would not be very surprising to find this transformed into Frutet; but Francis Floris the elder is not known to have been in Spain, nor did he die until 1570. His son, Francis Floris the younger, is still more out of the question; and the name of Antony does not occur in the family for four generations †.

The principal pictures of Francis Frutet are now, I believe, in the Museum at Seville.

*Pedro Campaña*, or *El Maese Pedro*, as he is often

\* Palomino, iii. p. 357; compare Cean Bermudez, ii. p. 141.

† See Fiorillo, *Gesch. der Zeichn. Künste in Deutschland*, ii. s. 450. Fiorillo, however, at page 438 of the same volume, mentions Antonio Flores without being aware of the doubt raised by Cean Bermudez.

called, was born at Brussels in 1503. He went to Rome in 1530, and on his way painted a triumphal arch at Bologna, for the coronation of Charles V. According to Pacheco, he studied in Italy twenty years, but he could not have been a pupil of Raphael, as that author and Palomino assert; since, when Raphael died, Campaña was seven years old; nor can we reconcile the length of his stay in Italy with the inscription under the Descent from the Cross at Seville, which bears the date of 1548: assuming, as is most probable, that the picture was painted at Seville\*. He lived long and was much honoured at Seville, but in his old age he returned to Brussels, where he died in 1580†.

Campaña's best known picture is the Descent from the Cross, formerly in the parish church of S<sup>ta</sup>. Cruz, now in the sacristy of the cathedral at Seville. Mr. Ford says it is hard and stiff; on me, I confess, it made a more favourable impression. Murillo used to stand for hours before it, and once replied to some one asking what he was doing—"I am waiting till these holy men have taken our Lord down." By his own desire he was originally buried in front of this picture‡. Pacheco pays it a very high compliment when he says that he has been afraid to remain alone with the picture in the gloomy chapel in which it hung§.

Besides the Descent from the Cross, Campaña, in 1553, painted the Purification of the Virgin, and other

\* Compare Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* i. p. 201; Palomino, iii. p. 369; Pacheco, p. 241.

† This is the date given by Cean Bermudez; Palomino says 1570.

‡ Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 255.

§ Pacheco, p. 57.

pictures, including the portraits of the donor's family for the chapel "*del Mariscal*," in the cathedral of Seville\*. He also executed works for various parish churches in that city and the neighbourhood. Pacheco speaks of his excellence as a portrait-painter†. His son, *Juan Bautista Campaña*, remained in Seville as a painter after his father's removal. He was employed by the Chapter on the "*Monumento*" in 1594.

Of *Antonio More* an account has been given in Kugler's *Hand-book*‡. He was born in 1512, at Utrecht, and came to Spain in 1552. Philip II. showed him great favour; so much indeed as to excite the jealousy of other parties about the court. More had a narrow escape of being thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition on suspicion of heresy, and was probably too glad to get back to Brussels§. For his portrait of Mary of England he received 100*l.* sterling and a gold ring, besides his salary of 100*l.*||. He died at Antwerp in 1588¶.

Many of More's pictures were burnt in the great fire at the Pardo in 1608. The present Madrid Gallery

\* Cean Bermudez, *Catedral de Sevilla*, p. 94.

† Pacheco, p. 434.

‡ Kugler, *German and Flemish Schools*, p. 207 and note; compare Walpole, I. p. 235.

§ Palomino, iii. p. 361.

|| Ibid.; one pound sterling was reckoned by Palomino as equal to five "*pesos de moneda Castellana*."

¶ This is the date given by Cean Bermudez, and by Fiorillo, *Gesch. d. z. k. in Deutschland*, ii. p. 439. Palomino states his death to have occurred in 1568; and Fuseli's Pilkington makes him to have been born in 1519 and to have died in 1575.



contains thirteen of his portraits, among which are those of Mary of England and of the Emperor Maximilian and his wife. Portraits by More of John III. of Portugal and his queen are shown in the church of St. Roch at Lisbon\*. Of Mary of England there is a portrait by this master at Hampton Court, as well as at Castle Howard. Waagen seems to doubt the genuineness of the celebrated portraits of the Queen and Philip in the possession of the Duke of Bedford at Woburn. At Althorp there are several of More's portraits †.

Another Fleming, whom Philip took into his service in 1556, was *Antonio Pupiler*. Cean Bermudez supposes that his pictures were burnt at the Pardo: none appear to be known.

*Ferdinand Sturm*, or *Sturmio*, was a foreign master employed by the Chapter of Seville; and a *retablo* bearing his name, executed in 1551, is to be seen in one of the lateral chapels of the cathedral of that city‡.

*Christobal of Utrecht* is said to have been a pupil of Antonio More, who brought him to Spain: he afterwards went to Portugal, and was made a Knight of the

\* See Raczynski, p. 291; compare p. 256, note 2. Raczynski says—"Les portraits de Jean III. et de la Reine Catherine qui sont attribués à More, doivent avoir été excellens avant d'avoir souffert du temps et des restaurations. Ils viennent de subir cette opération pour reprendre leur ancienne place."

† See Waagen, *England*, i. s. 389; ii. s. 310, 540, 547; *Passavant, Kunstreise*, s. 192; compare Kugler's *Hand-book, German and Flemish Schools*, p. 207, note.

‡ From the inscription on this picture, quoted by Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* iv. p. 396, it would appear that Sturm was a native of *Ziricsee*, which is a small town in Zealand, five leagues from Bergen-op-Zoom.

Order of Christ by John III.\* Count Raczyński observes truly enough, that More was fourteen years younger than Christobal, if the usual dates are correct, and it is therefore unlikely that he was his scholar, as Cean Bermudez asserts that he was. I cannot, however, bring myself to believe that pictures bearing evident traces of the manner of Van Eyck, such as those in the archiepiscopal palace at Evora are described to be, can be the works of so late a master as this artist. Nor does the conjectural evidence of the monograms given by Count Raczyński at all remove these doubts †.

*Luis de Vargas*, born at Seville in 1502, may be considered as having founded the higher school of art in his native city. His pictures bear more traces of his Italian studies than of any national character; and according to Pacheco he remained in Italy twenty-eight years. He is said to have been a pupil of Perin del Vaga, whose style he certainly imitated ‡. The earliest work of Vargas known at Seville is the altar-piece in the Chapel of the Nativity in the cathedral, which bears the date 1555 §; but his most celebrated picture is that commonly called "*La Gamba*," from the prominence in the composition of the leg of Adam. It represents, as we are told, the temporal generation of Christ, and it certainly is a work of great merit, though it is not easy to see it properly where it hangs; one figure of a child

\* Pacheco, p. 93; Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* v. p. 97.

† Raczyński, pp. 319, 353, 354, 355, 368; for the monograms see pp. 109, 110.

‡ Pacheco, p. 118.

§ Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 253.

on the ground is peculiarly beautiful, and almost rivals the matchless cupids of Raphael \*.

The niches on the outside of the Giralda or tower of the cathedral were painted by Vargas, but are long since ruined, as well as the Christ bearing the Cross, or the "*Calle de Amargura*" (Way of Bitterness), as the subject is called by the Spaniards. This latter fresco is outside the court of orange-trees, and was held in great reverence by the people. It was repainted in 1594 by Vasco Pereyra, a Portuguese. From criminals being allowed to stop before it on their way to punishment, it acquired the name of "*el Cristo de los Azotados*." Pacheco finds fault with Vargas for having painted our Lord with nothing but a tunic on †. In the church of S<sup>ta</sup>. Maria la Blanca at Seville, in which those glorious Murillos of the Patrician's Dream, now at Madrid, formerly hung, there is a Dead Christ by Luis de Vargas, which is described by Mr. Ford as "very fine and Florentine, but cruelly injured and neglected." ‡ The body of Christ is in the arms of his mother, and is very striking.

The Museum at Madrid does not profess to contain a single picture by Luis de Vargas: the Spanish collection in the Louvre has one attributed to him; the subject is the Virgin with St. Michael and other saints. In the Esterhazy palace at Vienna there is an exceedingly beautiful Virgin and Child by Vargas, as well as

\* Mr. Ford calls it "this truly Italian picture."—Hand-book, p. 204; see also p. 248 for the niches of the tower.

† Pacheco, p. 539.

‡ Hand-book, p. 269.

a Christ in the Garden. The latter picture, if I can trust my recollection, is very fine, and the idea is something like that of Coreggio's celebrated work, but it is executed on a far larger scale.

In the Orleans Gallery there was a picture which bore the name of Vargas, which is at present in the possession of Lord Francis Egerton in this country\*: it is said by Waagen to be an old copy of the St. John in the Wilderness, formerly named a Raphael in the Düsseldorf collection, and now called a Giulio Romano in the Munich Gallery.

Luis de Vargas was an admirable portrait-painter. On part of the *retablo* in which his "Gamba" is placed he had painted the portrait of the Precentor (*el Chantre*) Don Juan de Medina; the Precentor was in the habit of saying his prayers near this picture, and the boys used to get round and look first at the likeness and then at the original in admiration of the skill of the artist†. It is said that an indifferent artist once showed Vargas a picture which he had painted of Christ on the Cross, and asked his opinion of its merits; Vargas replied that our Lord seemed to be saying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." A speech which the painter accepted as a compliment to his work.

I have already stated‡ that Luis de Vargas was singularly devout and scrupulous in his religious duties,

\* See Waagen, England, i. s. 354, 512.

† Pacheco, p. 442; compare Gean Bermudez, *Catedral de Sevilla*, p. 91.

‡ See p. 20; compare Pacheco, p. 118.

and that after his death the instruments of mortification were found in his chamber. According to Palomino he died at Seville in 1590\*, at the age of sixty two; but this would place his birth in 1528. Cean Bermudez states, on the authority of Pacheco and Morgado, that he died in 1568†, but Pacheco, like Palomino, makes him sixty-two at the time of his death, which would place his birth in 1506, and not in 1502, as given by Cean Bermudez.

At this early period it cannot be said that the three great schools of Seville, Valencia, and Castile had assumed their respective characters or were definitely formed. Vargas may be considered as the leader of that of Andalucia; though his works, as we have seen, bear stronger traces of his Italian education than of genuine Spanish feeling.

I will now proceed in like manner to the head of the school of Valencia, and then go on to treat of those masters whose works were about the same time most prominent at the Escorial and at Toledo.

*Vicente Joanes* ‡ was born, as it is believed, at Fuente la Higuera, in 1523. He could not, therefore, have been, as Palomino asserts, a pupil of Raphael; though there seems little doubt that he studied in Italy. Like Luis de Vargas, he was a man of a deep religious feeling, and is said to have confessed and communicated

\* Palomino, iii. p. 387.

† See Pacheco, p. 118; compare Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* v. p. 138.

‡ The writer in the *Kunstblatt* (No. 39, May, 1838, s. 155), asserts that Joanes' proper name was Vicente Joanes Macip. I do not know his authority.

before he undertook the execution of a sacred subject \*. He died at Bocairente whilst employed on the *retablo* of the church there, in December, 1579. In 1581 his remains were transferred to the church of S<sup>ta</sup>. Cruz, in Valencia.

The Royal Gallery at Madrid contains no less than eighteen pictures attributed to Joanes ; among these is a series of the Martyrdom and Burial of St. Stephen, which is sufficient of itself to give the artist a very high rank as a painter †. Saul walks by the side of the saint with the resolute air of a persecutor from conviction, who is discharging a solemn duty ; the mob, on the other hand, are exulting in all the joy of vulgar bigotry, and in a natural love of cruelty. Studies for such scenes must have been common in Spain ; many a Dominican might have sat for the Saul. The treatment and technical execution of these pictures is Italian in its character and very fine. The Visitation, and the Martyrdom of S<sup>ta</sup>. Ines are inferior to the works just mentioned ; but the former struck me as somewhat resembling Garofalo, and the latter has some beautiful Raphaelesque heads. The heads of Christ and the Christ bearing the Cross are also fine, and the portrait of Don Luis de Castelv y is exceedingly beautiful ; Mr. Ford says "equal to anything of Bronzino." I should almost have compared it to the portraits of Raphael ‡.

Valencia, however, is the great storehouse of the works of Joanes. In the sacristy of the cathedral is "a

\* Pacheco, p. 118.

† Nos. 196, 197, 199 ; compare Ford's Hand-book, p. 754.

‡ No. 169 ; Ford's Hand-book, p. 754.

truly Raphaelesque Holy Family," in which St. John is presenting the Saviour with a blue flower\*. In the Capilla de S. Pedro, Mr. Ford tells us to observe the exquisite Christ in a violet robe with the chalice, as well as a Holy Family†. In the house of the Conde de Parcent is a picture of S. Vicente preaching, and in the sacristy of the Colegio del Corpus a small altar by this master‡.

The Spanish Museum in the Louvre contains six pictures ascribed to Joanes§. The writer in the *Kunstblatt* considers none of these as first rate, except that of God the Father with Christ and another of the Saviour contemplating the instruments of his suffering. The former, he says, unites correct drawing, good modelling, colour, and expression in one harmonious whole, and the latter has a feeling of mystic inspiration suited at once to the subject and to the personal character of the artist||.

Marshal Soult's collection contains, I think, one picture by Joanes—a full-length figure of Christ with the Cross.

Sir William Eden, of Windlestone, is said to possess a picture by Joanes which he purchased at Valencia. With this exception, I do not know any work of the master in England, though it is very possible that some others may have been imported lately.

The son of Vicente Joanes, *Juan Vicente Joanes*, was again a painter, and imitated his father. In the Spanish Museum of the Louvre there is a Scourging of Christ attributed to him.

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 440. § Nos. 123 to 128.

† Hand-book, p. 441.

|| *Kunstblatt*, May 1838. No. 39.

‡ Hand-book, pp. 442, 444.

*Diego Correa* was another master of the sixteenth century; his works are very rare. A series representing scenes of the Passion, which formerly constituted the *retablo mayor* of the Bernardine convent of Valdeiglesias, are now at Madrid\*. Captain Widdrington describes them as very curious, and adds that by an inexperienced eye they would be taken to be early works of Joanes, since Correa would appear to have studied Raphael almost as much as the great Valencian himself. "One," he says, "had parts extremely like a Raphael of the second manner." Some of Correa's pictures bear the date of 1550. According to Mr. Ford he studied at Florence.

*Alonso Sanchez Coello* is called by Palomino a Portuguese, and the name Coello or Coelho is a Portuguese name †. Cean Bermudez, however, on the authority of a pedigree produced by Coello's nephew as his qualification for the order of Santiago, maintains that he was born near Valencia, and conjectures that his third name may have been taken from his mother's family. He was born early in the sixteenth century, and died, according to Palomino, in 1590. It is possible that he studied at Rome. Subsequently he became a pupil of Antonio More, and, like his master, was peculiarly distinguished in portraits ‡.

\* Compare Widdrington, Spain in 1843, p. 34; Ford's Handbook, p. 777. I cannot find Correa's pictures in the Catalogue of the Madrid Gallery.

† Diccion. iii. p. 388. Count Raczyński throws no light on this matter. Guarienti, from whom he quotes, wrote very late, and evidently copied Palomino, taking care, however, to add some special blunders of his own. See "Les Arts en Portugal," p. 318; compare 247, 310.

‡ Pacheco, p. 442.



Coello went with More to Lisbon, when the latter was commissioned by Charles V. to paint the portraits of the royal family there; the former artist remained in the service of Don Juan, husband of the emperor's daughter. After the death of that prince, Philip II. received the painter into his own household.

Philip treated Alonso Sanchez with the greatest distinction: he gave him apartments in the palace, and would visit his studio when he was at work, causing the painter to be seated in his presence; and sometimes, it is said, he would lean on his shoulder and watch his progress. He addressed him in writing as his "beloved son."\* Coello received similar honours from other princes, and accumulated a large fortune. His historical works were few in comparison with his portraits, and many of his paintings perished in the fires of the Pardo and the Palace at Madrid. Several of the large altarpieces of saints in the Church of the Escorial are by Alonso Sanchez, and in the *Celda Prioral* is the fine portrait of the Padre Siguenza†. In 1585 he painted a portrait of Ignatius Loyola, which, like all those of that saint, was executed after his death. Coello was assisted by the cast of Loyola's face made in Rome, and by the suggestions of Ribadeneira‡.

The Royal Gallery of Madrid contains eight pictures by Alonso Sanchez Coello: one of them, the Marriage of

\* "Al muy amado hijo, Alonso Sanchez Coello."—Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* iv. p. 334; compare Palomino, iii. pp. 388, 389.

† Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 817. This picture was engraved by Selma; see Nagler, *Künstler-Lexicon*.

Pacheco, p. 589. Loyola died in 1556, at Rome.

St. Catherine, is painted on cork, and came from the Escorial; the remainder are portraits. Among the latter is a supposed portrait of Don Carlos, son of Philip II., in which there is no expression of idiocy or deficient intellect. Another, that of the Infanta Clara Eugenia, wife of the Archduke Albert, is very well painted. The portrait in black, with the cross of Santiago (No. 206), has been supposed to be that of Antonio Perez.

The Duke of Dalmatia's collection contains a singular picture by Coello of St. Anthony and St. Paul the Hermit; the colour is good, and the style resembles Navarrete.

In the Spanish Museum of the Louvre are nine portraits ascribed to this master; one of them bears his name with the date 1577\*. In the Hermitage at St. Petersburg is a portrait of Alexander Farnese by Coello, with the date of 1586†.

Coello's daughter, *Doña Isabel*, was an artist as well as a distinguished musician. His best pupil, however, was *Juan Pantoja de la Cruz*, who became painter to Philip II., and has left numerous traces of his activity in the Gallery of Madrid. Two of his works, of which the subjects are the Birth of the Virgin and the Birth of Christ, are curious, inasmuch as all the figures are said to be likenesses of the family of Philip III.‡ The latter picture is well painted, as are most of his portraits, though not in general equal to those of his master. Two portraits by Pantoja de la Cruz will be found in

\* Compare the *Kunstblatt*, No. 40, May, 1838.

† Nagler, *Künstler-Lexicon*.

‡ Numbers 175 and 181 in the Catalogue.



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p. 40, May, 1838.

§ Catalogue.

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the Pinacothek at Munich: one is of the Archduke Albert, and the other is that of his wife, the Infanta Isabella, daughter of Philip II.; both are signed by the artist.

Altogether these pictures by Coello and Pantoja of Infants and Infantas, bristling with the stiffness and formality of the old Spanish court, independently of their merit as works of art, are in themselves most interesting, and carry us back in spirit to the times of the House of Austria.

A later artist, in the style of Pantoja, was *Diego Valentin Diaz*, of Valladolid. He was a familiar of the Inquisition, and died in 1660. The *retablo* of the chapel in which he is buried, in the Casa de la Misericordia in his native city, is painted by him, and there are in the same place portraits of himself and his wife\*.

We are now in what may be called the middle period of Spanish art; when the Italian character was giving way to a certain national feeling, but the full power of Murillo and Velazquez had not yet burst forth. At this time there were some great masters in the school of Castile, among whom one of the most eminent was *Juan Fernandez Navarrete*, surnamed *El Mudo*, or "the Dumb."† He was born at Logroño in 1526. An

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 637.

† There were two other painters of little note who were dumb: *Diego Lopez* was one—he painted certain pictures near Talavera; the other was *Pedro el Mudo*, by whom Cean Bermudez seems to have seen a well-painted portrait. See *Diccion.* iii. pp. 45, 210; compare Viardot. *Notices sur les Peintres de l'Espagne*, p. 106. I do not know to what this last author alludes as "quelques ouvrages distingués" by *Pedro el Mudo*.

attack of disease deprived him of his hearing at the age of three years, and consequently he never learnt to talk. He acquired the first rudiments of art in a monastery near his native place; but when he grew up he was sent to Italy, and there saw the treasures of Rome, Florence, Milan, Naples and Venice. In the last-named city he worked in the house of Titian. On his return to Spain Philip II. secured his services in the decoration of the wonderful fabric of the Escorial. The patent appointing Navarrete painter to the king bears date the 6th of March, 1568. The picture which he executed as a specimen of his powers is said to be that of the Baptism of Christ, which formerly hung in the Prior's cell in the Escorial, and is now in the Royal Museum at Madrid. Some of the figures in it are fine, especially those on the left hand.

In the Madrid Gallery there are also two figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, which are supposed to be sketches for the larger works at the Escorial, where the great productions of El Mudo must still be sought for. The figures of the apostles and saints in these altarpieces are most striking, both in dignity of form and beauty of colour. The finest, Mr. Ford thinks, are St. Philip and Santiago\*. The grand picture of Abraham and the Angels, now in the collection of the Duke of Dalmatia, was also originally in the Escorial. The effect of the whole is very peculiar: the angel to the right is fine, and the light falling on the feet of the three figures, with the rich glow of colour on the bending form of Abraham, is grand and most remarkable. Pacheco thinks the subject is treated indecorously, because the angels are repre-

\* Hand-book, p. 813.

sented "*con ropas moradas Nazarenas*," when they ought to have been painted as pilgrims; above all, he is shocked at their having beards\*.

Navarrete offended more seriously in another picture of the Holy Family, by introducing a partridge and a cat and dog quarrelling†. His propensity to improprieties of this kind seems to have been known, for we find, in the contract entered into with him by the authorities of the Escorial, it is expressly stipulated, "Whenever the figure of a saint is repeated by painting it several times, the face shall be represented in the same manner, and likewise the garments shall be of the same colour; and if any saint has a portrait which is peculiar to him, he shall be painted according to such portrait, which shall be sought out with diligence wherever it may be: and in the afore-said pictures the artist shall not introduce any cat or dog or other unbecoming figure, but all shall be saints, and such as incite to devotion."‡

Marshal Soult has also a very singular portrait by Navarrete. It is marvellously painted, but the eyes have that sort of appearance which we should call "wall-eyed" in an animal.

Navarrete's admiration for Titian is well exemplified by the story of his attempt to save the Last Supper of

\* Pacheco, p. 549.

† Cean Bermudez, Diccion. ii. p. 97; Pacheco, p. 430.

‡ See Cean Bermudez, Diccion. ii. p. 100; compare Viardot. *Notico sur les Peintres de l'Espagne*, p. 102. It is curious to see how carefully this contract endeavours to secure in the figures of the saints that individual character which is essential to the impression of reality. The advantage of "*type*" in such subjects was clearly felt by the monks of St. Lorenzo. Compare Preface to Kugler, *German and Flemish Schools*, p. xl.

that master, executed for the refectory of the Escorial, from being cut to fit the place for which it was destined. El Mudo gave the king to understand by signs that he would copy it in six months or forfeit his head; an offer which Pacheco says he would without doubt have made good\*, but which the king was too impatient to accept, and ordered the picture to be cut.

In the Spanish Museum of the Louvre there is one small picture of the Flagellation which bears the name of Navarrete. In this country I know none, except that in the possession of Lord Lansdowne, at Bowood, which is supposed to be a portrait of Doña Maria de Pacheco, the heroic wife of Don Juan de Padilla. She is seated on the mule or ass on which she bore her infant son whilst she endeavoured to rouse the Comuñeros of Castile to avenge the death of their murdered chief†.

Navarrete did not live to complete the contract, already quoted, by which he had bound himself to execute no less than thirty-two pictures for the church of the Escorial: he completed only eight of the saints and evangelists; the remainder were entrusted to Alonso Sanchez Coello and Luis de Carabajal. El Mudo died in March, 1579, at Toledo. Lope de Vega has left the following epigram upon him:—

\* Pacheco, p. 94; Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* ii. 109.

† If Navarrete painted this portrait, it must have been long subsequent to the events to which it referred. Juan de Padilla was put to death in 1522, four years before the birth of the painter. The picture, I believe, was purchased in Italy, whither it had been brought from Spain. See Robertson, *Charles V.* ii. p. 176-178; compare Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 620.



“No quiso el ciel que hablase  
 Porque con mi entendimiento  
 Diese mayor sentimiento  
 A las cosas que pintase.  
 Y tanta vida les dí  
 Con el pincel singular  
 Que como no pudé hablar  
 Hice que hablasen por mí.”

*Luis de Carabajal*, or *Carabajal*, was born at Toledo in 1534, and worked much for Philip II. at the Escorial. Besides the large altar-pieces already referred to, he executed a Magdalen and a Nativity, as well as the portrait of Don Bartolomé Carranza in the Winter Chapter-House. He painted at Toledo with Blas del Prado in the year 1591, and is said to have been employed in the Pardo as late as 1613, though Palomino places his death twenty-two years earlier\*. His Magdalen, we are told, was much admired by Lebrun: it is now in the Madrid Gallery†.

We must next turn to one of those masters whose works are scarcely ever seen out of Spain—*Domenico Theotocopuli*—commonly called “*El Greco*.” Both these names, as well as the fact that he has signed pictures in Greek characters, leave no doubt as to the country whence he came, but his character as an artist, unequal as it is, is thoroughly Spanish. *El Greco* is said to have been a pupil of Titian‡; his great study was colour. Pacheco tells us—“When I asked Domenico Greco, in 1611, which was the more difficult,

\* Palomino, iii. p. 292.

† Compare Quilliet, p. 52.

‡ Palomino, iii. p. 425; compare Lanzi, iii. p. 116. *El Greco*, it appears, was employed by Titian to engrave his designs. Lanzi says he can point out no picture of his in Italy.

drawing or colour? his answer was—colour: and this opinion of his is not so much to be wondered at, as to hear him talk with so little esteem for Michael Angelo, (being as he is the father of painting), of whom he said that he was a good sort of man " (*buen ombre*), " but did not know how to paint."\* In another passage, however, Pacheco extols the diligence of El Greco, and says that he once showed him a cupboard full of clay models executed by himself for the purpose of being used in his painting, as well as small duplicates in oil of all the pictures which he had ever painted †.

It remains to say something of the works of this strange but admirable master. He resided at Toledo in 1577, in which year he commenced the fine picture of the Stripping of Christ in the sacristy of the cathedral. He also executed the carving and framework constituting the *retablo* in which the picture is placed. The figure of Christ is in the centre, clothed in deep crimson, and from its position and the glow of its colour, as well as the grouping of the subordinate personages, gives an unity to this work which has rarely been surpassed. The tone is essentially Venetian, though perhaps not so much so as that of another production of the same master, the subject of which is the Burial of the Conde de Orgaz. Palomino treats this latter picture as the

\* Pacheco, p. 242. Wilkie, in 1827, wrote—"After seeing all the fine pictures in France, Italy, and Germany, we must come to this conclusion—that *colour*, if not the first, is at least an essential requisite in painting. No master has as yet maintained his ground beyond his own time without it."—Life, ii. p. 443. Is not Poussin an exception?

† Pacheco, p. 347; compare Palomino, iii. p. 429.

chef-d'œuvre of the artist. It was painted in 1584, by the order of Don Gaspar de Quiroga, Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo. The execution resembles Tintoret: the reality of the figures in the lower part is wonderful, but the upper portion is somewhat inferior. St. Stephen and St. Augustin are burying the deceased count with their own hands, whilst his friends and family look on somewhat surprised. This picture I saw at Toledo in the church of S<sup>to</sup>. Tomé, which was founded by the count himself, and where the miracle is said to have occurred in 1312\*. I infer, from what Mr. Ford says, that it is now at Madrid†; the transfer is much to be regretted. In the convent of La Reyna, at Toledo, there was a Christ Crucified, with two portraits below, both wonderfully painted‡.

Some of El Greco's figures were extravagant in length and of an ashen-grey tone, most singular in so fine a colourist. His works at the Escorial are unequal in this manner: of the three in the Sala Capitular, one is very fine and another perfectly absurd. The portrait of Innocent X., ascribed to El Greco, which used to hang in the apartments of Don Carlos, is equal to any portrait I ever saw. The Museum at Madrid possesses no less than ten pictures by this master, many of them portraits. The Spanish Gallery in the Louvre professes to contain as many as eight, among which are his own por-

\* See Palomino, iii. p. 426, who gives the date 1323.

† Hand-book, p. 771; compare Borrow's *Bible in Spain*, third edition, vol. ii. p. 374.

‡ I think this is possibly the picture which now bears the number 254 in the Catalogue of the Spanish Collection at Paris.

trait and that of his daughter; the latter is highly praised by the critic in the *Kunstblatt*: "The black piercing eyes, the thin features and morbid paleness of the face, betray the feverish restlessness of this female heart, and indicate a nature capable of deep passion and endowed with fine nerves. The manner in which the painter has thrown out this figure from a light drapery is remarkable."\*

A very singular portrait by El Greco has lately been brought to this country by Mr. Conyngham; it is thoroughly Venetian in its character, and purports to represent Frà Vincentio Anastagi, who was governor of Città Vecchia in the siege of Malta. It is signed by the painter in Greek characters.

Theotocopuli was the architect of the Casa del Ayuntamiento at Toledo†. He died in 1625 at a great age. His memory has been celebrated in a sonnet of Góngora's which is strongly tainted with the affectation so often characteristic of that poet‡.

One of the best pupils of El Greco was *Juan Bautista Mayno*. He, too, was employed by the Chapter of Toledo, and became a Dominican monk. Philip IV. relied much on his advice in matters of art, both before and after his accession; and it was by Mayno that the attention of the king was called to Alonso Cano. He died at Madrid, in the college of Santo Tomas, in 1649. One of this artist's pictures in the Gallery of Madrid is a large allegorical composition, representing the recovery of a rebellious province of Flanders, and the dis-

\* *Kunstblatt* for 1839, No. 42, s. 166.

† *Hand-book*, p. 850; *Cean Bermudez, Diccion.* v. p. 6.

‡ *Obras*, Madrid, 1654, p. 23.

comfiture of heresy and sedition by Philip IV. and Olivares; the other is a portrait.

*Blas del Prado* was a native of Toledo. He is said by Palomino to have been a pupil of Berruguete, but that author is clearly wrong in affirming that he died in 1557, since Cean Bermudez found a record of his salary being paid as late as April, 1593, when he was out of the kingdom\*. It may have been that at this time he was employed at the court of Morocco, whither he was sent at the special request of the Emperor. On his return to Spain the painter wore the dress of a Moor, and for some time used to sit on the floor in the oriental fashion. Palomino attributes to Blas del Prado three pictures which formerly hung in the cloisters of the cathedral of Toledo, but Cean Bermudez asserts that the archives show them to be the works of Luis de Velasco†. In 1833 they were so placed as scarcely to admit of being seen at all, but they appeared to me to bear very strong traces of the style of Andrea del Sarto. The Royal Gallery at Madrid contains one picture of Blas del Prado, and there is also one in the Louvre. He was a good fruit-painter, and when he went to Morocco he took with him some pictures of this kind which Pacheco pronounces to have been excellent‡.

*Luis de Velasco*, to whom Cean Bermudez assigns the

\* Palomino, iii. p. 359; compare Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* iv. p. 117. Palomino's mistake is so gross, that I should be inclined to attribute it to a clerical error; the date, however, is printed in words at length, not in figures. Philip II. did not come to the throne till 1556.

† Compare Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 849.

‡ Pacheco, p. 421.

three pictures commonly bearing the name of Blas del Prado, resided at Toledo in 1564, and worked for the archbishop and chapter of that see. He died in 1606.

The favourite pupil of El Greco was *Luis Tristan*, born near Toledo in 1586, to whom his master made over many commissions which he was unable to execute himself. In this manner he was employed to paint the Last Supper for the Hieronymite monastery of La Sisle. The monks liked the picture, but they thought the price of two hundred ducats, which the artist asked for it, excessive. They therefore sent for Theotocopuli to value it: when this master saw his pupil's work, he raised his stick and ran at him, calling him a scoundrel and a disgrace to his profession. The monks restrained the angry painter, and soothed him by saying that the poor lad did not know what he had asked, and no doubt would submit to the opinion of his master. "In good truth," said El Greco, "he does not know what he has asked, and if he does not get five hundred ducats for the picture I desire it may be rolled up and carried to my house." The Hieronymites found themselves compelled to pay the larger sum. At the age of thirty Tristan painted the altar-pieces for the parish church of Yepes, and in 1619 he executed the portrait of Bernardo de Sandóval, Archbishop of Toledo. The artist died in 1640.

We are accustomed to consider Philip II. only in the light of a morose and narrow-minded tyrant: the bitter opponent of England, and the destroyer of all that was just and noble in the Netherlands. It is impossible, however, to contemplate the Escorial without admiring the taste which must have originated and fostered

so glorious an edifice. The whole possesses a unity of purpose and design such as is rarely seen. It is not a palace, but a mighty monastery in which the King of Spain has apartments. The feeling of monastic severity predominates over that of royal splendour everywhere, except in the tomb, where the dust of the monarchs of Spain and the Indies is enshrined in the most precious marble. The architecture is broad and severe; the scenery is rugged and solemn, and the scale in which the whole is cast, such as of itself to inspire awe and reverence\*. The first stone of this grand work was laid on the 23rd of April, 1563. Philip is said to have often watched the progress of the fabric from the brow of the mountain at its side. When it was completed he attended mass with the monks, sitting in that stall at the corner of the choir where he received the news of the battle of Lepanto†. In his last illness he lay in one of the tribunes near the high altar with the solemn service of the church ringing hourly in his ears; and there he died within the walls of his own magnificent temple.

The erection of such a work as the Escorial was necessarily an epoch in the history of Spanish art. I

\* I do not often differ from the author of the Hand-book on matters of taste, but I cannot say that the Escorial disappointed me; on the contrary, it exceeded my expectations in every way. That it contributed its influence to fix the residence of the court at Madrid is to be lamented, and that it was unpleasant to pay for on the part of the people I can easily conceive: but its grandeur I must maintain. See Hand-book, pp. 809, 810.

† Ford's Hand-book, pp. 817, 819; Ximenez, *Descripcion del Escorial*. Madrid, 1764, fol. p. 226.

have already spoken of some of the masters \* who were employed there; but, in addition to the native artists, a flood of Italians, not all of them first-rate, poured themselves into Spain to reap a portion of the patronage bestowed by Philip II.

Gaspar Becerra has been already mentioned as among the most eminent artists who propagated Italian art in Spain; and I have spoken of Titian's visit to that country. The erection of the Escorial took place, however, after his journey; but that building and the Madrid Gallery together are, to this day, perfect storehouses of his productions. Many of these have suffered from neglect, but few from the scrubbing of the picture-cleaner †.

The two brothers, *Antonio* and *Vincenzio Campi*, were in Spain about 1583; they were natives of Cremona ‡. *Luca Cambiaso*, of Genoa, was in the same

\* See the list of painters given by Carducho, p. 32.

† The present Madrid Gallery contains forty-two pictures by Titian, of which fifteen (including the "Gloria," or Apotheosis of Charles V., of which Mr. Rogers has the sketch) have been brought from the Escorial. Many, among which I trust are the St. Lawrence and the Last Supper, still remain there. For an account of the principal Titians in these two collections see Wilkie's *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 483, 484, 485, 487, 488, 492, 499, 503, 504, 505, 524, 528; compare Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 551.

‡ Compare Lanzi, *Storia della Pittura*, iv. p. 133. In an extract from a letter from S. A. Hart, Esq., R.A., printed in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts, the following passage occurs:—"The church of St. Sigismund at Cremona is literally covered with the works of the brothers Campi: hardly a square inch has been left vacant. These frescos, bearing date 1566-77, are all vigorous and brilliant, and are perhaps on the whole some of the best that could be adduced in favour of the material." (p. 43.)



year specially engaged by Philip, after he had painted the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence as a specimen of his powers. He arrived in Spain accompanied by his son Horace and his pupil *Lazzaro Tavarone* \*. Cambiaso executed the frescos on the ceiling of the choir of the Escorial, besides other works of considerable magnitude.

*Juan Bautista Castello*, painter and architect, bore the soubriquet of "El Bergamasco," because he was a native of Bergamo. He was received into the service of Philip II. in 1567. In the Alcázar of Madrid he worked with Becerra, and was employed by the king on a mission to Genoa to purchase marble for the decoration of the same palace. At his death in 1569 he left two sons, both painters, *Nicolao Granelo* and *Fabricio Castello*. These two brothers remained in Philip's service, and with Lazzaro Tavarone and Horacio Cambiaso they executed the frescos of the Battles of Higuieruela † and St. Quintin in the *Sala de las Batallas* in the Escorial.

Another missionary of art from Italy was *Rómulo*

\* Compare Lanzi, v. pp. 297, 300.

† "The Battle of the Fig-tree" (Higuera or Higuieruela) was a battle in which the Moors were defeated by Juan II. in person, It took place in 1431; and, according to Mariana (xi. p. 268), it was called "por una puesta y plantada en el mismo lugar en que pelearon;" according to others the name was derived from the fact that the constable, Don Alvaro de Luna, who commanded the vanguard, was bribed by money concealed in figs. See Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* ii. p. 230; Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 819. Mr. Ford says, "The costume is most curious. This was copied for Philip II. from an original chiaroscuro roll, 150 feet long, which was found in the Alcázar of Segovia."

*Cincinato* \*, a pupil of Salviati, who was sent by the Spanish ambassador in Rome to Philip II. in the year 1569. *Patricio Caxes* (*Caxesi* or *Caxete*), a native of Arezzo, accompanied him. Rómulo worked in the Pardo at Madrid, at the Escorial †, at Cuença, and for the Duque del Infantado at Guadalajara. Caxes painted much in the Pardo, and there is a picture by him in the Museum at Madrid. Rómulo left two sons, *Diego* and *Francisco*, both born at Madrid and both painters ‡. The former of the two had the honour of painting Urban VIII. at Rome, and received from him the most distinguished marks of favour. We shall have occasion hereafter to notice Eugenio Caxes, the son of Patricio.

*Federigo Zuccaro* was another well-known master who was brought over for the express purpose of assisting in the decoration of the Escorial. His works, however, did not give much satisfaction to the king, and he returned to Italy §. *Bartolomeo Carducci* (or *Bartolomé Carducho*), of Florence, was the pupil of Zuccaro, and accompanied his master to Spain in 1585. Bartolomé Carducho, however, with his brother Vincencio, remained in Spain, where the former worked much at the Escorial and the Pardo, and died in 1608. Few Italian masters did so much as Carducho to promote the fine arts in Spain. Kugler says he may be taken as representing the school

\* It is difficult to suppose that this was his real name, but I am unable to supply any further information.

† Carducho, p. 32; Palomino, iii. p. 403.

‡ Pacheco, p. 96.

§ Compare Lanzi, ii. p. 112.

of Florence in the time of Cigoli. A picture by him will be found in the Esterhazy palace at Vienna\*.

His brother Vincencio, besides executing many pictures of merit, wrote the Dialogues on Painting which Cean Bermudez calls the best book on the subject in the Spanish language; it was printed in 1633. Among the works of Vincencio Carducho were upwards of fifty in the Carthusian monastery of the Paular on the Guadarrama, whence they have now been brought to Madrid and placed in the upper quadrangle of the new Museum. They represent the history of the order, and the sufferings of its monks on the suppression of convents by our Henry VIII. Captain Widdrington speaks of them as very good†. Carducho died in 1638, at the age of seventy, and Lope de Vega wrote a sonnet in his honour.

Another pupil of the Zuccaros, *Cesar Arbasia*, had exercised his art rather earlier in the South of Spain, and painted the *retablo* in the chapel of St. Nicholas, at Cordova, as well as the *capilla mayor*, and the chapel of the Incarnation in the cathedral of Malaga in 1579. Mr. Ford says the pictures at Cordova are of no merit‡. Arbasia was born at Saluzzo, and lived for some time at Rome as a teacher in the academy of St. Luke§. Pa-

\* Kugler, Handbuch der Gesch. der Malerei, s. 266.

† Widdrington's Spain in 1843, p. 33.

‡ Hand-book, p. 300.

§ Compare Lanzi, v. p. 360; Pacheco, p. 422. Nothing can show Palomino's inaccuracy more than the quiet manner in which he says, "Cesar Arbasia, a great Italian painter, and of the school of Leonardo da Vinci, came to Spain about the year 1600." Arbasia died in 1614; Leonardo in 1519!

checo praises his landscapes. *Antonio Rizi*, of Bologna, was brought into Spain by Zuccaro; he married there and left two sons, *Francisco Rizi* and *Fray Juan Rizi*, both better known than their father as painters in the declining times of Spanish art\*. Carducho names a Venetian, *Bernardino del Agua*†, as one of the artists employed at the Escorial, but the Italian who is best known among those masters was *Peregrino Tibaldi*, or, as he is properly called, *Pellegrino Pellegrini*‡. He was a native of Valdelsa in the Milanese, but belonged to the school of Bologna. Of his works on the high altar of the Escorial, Mr. Ford says, "The pictures in the *retablo* of the Adoration and Nativity are very cold; while his San Lorenzo, '*non satis crematus*,' puts out the gridiron-fire from sheer rawness. Again, the martyr is so gigantic, that he might have eaten up the disproportionate Romans as easily as Captain Gulliver routed the Lilliputians." With reference to his frescos in the Library, the same author truly remarks that he out-heroded M. Angelo without possessing a tithe of his grandeur or originality§. Tibaldi returned to Italy highly honoured and well paid by Philip for his labours at the Escorial.

*Juan de Juni* was certainly not a Spaniard; according to Palomino|| he was a Fleming, but Cean Bermudez suspects that he was Italian: he was at least educated in Italy, and, as it is said, in the school of M. Angelo. His works as a sculptor are celebrated for their excel-

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 771. § Hand-book, pp. 813, 816, 818.

† Carducho, p. 32.

|| Palomino, p. 416.

‡ Lanzi, v. p. 47.

lence; the best of them are, or were, to be seen at Valladolid, Segovia, Osma, Aranda del Duero, and Salamanca\*. As a painter he was far less known; but he was the architect of the Episcopal palace at Oporto.

In order to complete our survey of the northern schools of Spanish art, before we proceed to Andalusia, it is necessary to turn to the painters of Aragon. Here, too, Italian influence operated extensively†.

The Duke of Villahermosa had already, in the year 1580, brought *Paul Esquarte* and *Roland Mois* from Italy to Saragossa. The first was a pupil of Titian, and excellent in portrait; the second was a good historical painter; and they adorned the churches and the palace of the duke himself with their works, thus imparting nourishment to the school of Aragon by their example and their teaching.

*Antonio Galceran*, a pupil of Esquarte, painted the palace of the Bishop of Barbastro, and enriched the cathedral there with his historical pictures.

About this time, a certain *Lupicino* of Florence established himself at Saragossa; to him are attributed the pictures in the chapel of St. Helen in the cathedral, of which the subjects are the circumstances attending the finding of the Holy Cross. The pictures of the great altar of the convent of St. Augustin are also by Lupicino, and they have much merit, since they are painted with great knowledge and correctness of drawing as well as good colouring. These works exercised

\* See Ford's Hand-book, pp. 616, 626, 627, 628, 638, 892.

† The notices of Aragonese artists are again translated from the paper of Cean Bermudez, published in the tenth volume of *Minaño*.

considerable influence by exciting the Aragonese painters to imitate them.

*Geronimo de Mora*, a native of Saragossa, was conversant with all profane literature; a good poet—celebrated as such by Cervantes—a valiant soldier, and a skilful painter. Stimulated by the works of Lupicino, he went to the Escorial in the year 1587, in order to perfect himself in painting under Federigo Zuccaro. When Mora returned home he executed the doors of the *retablo* of St. George for the Hall of the Deputies. At the beginning of the seventeenth century he was chosen, together with Bartolomé Carducho, his brother Vincencio, and Patricio Caxes, to paint in fresco certain rooms and the staircase of the Palace of the Pardo. The works executed there by these celebrated artists met with the approval of all connoisseurs, but the price which was put upon them by other masters of Madrid did not give equal satisfaction to the Commissioners of Public Works (*Junta de obras y Bosques*). Pedro l'Horfelin de Poulitiers was named to revise the valuation, and he reduced the price to less than the half of that at which they had been originally valued. In consequence of this great difference of opinion there followed a lawsuit which lasted many years, much to the prejudice of the representatives of those artists who had executed the frescos. In 1615 Mora, as an artist, wrote a long and instructive paper in defence of himself and his fellows; and it is to be regretted that this essay is not printed for the information both of artists and amateurs.

*Pedro l'Horfelin de Poulitiers* was a Frenchman who had established himself at Saragossa, and died there with

a property of 20,000 ducats, including 2000 paid him by the Commissioners of Public Works. His portraits were like their originals, and were painted with freedom, so that in this department he contributed to advance the school of Aragon.

His son, *Antony Horfelin*, did much more. He was born at Saragossa in 1597, and died there in 1660. Having studied with success at Rome, on his return to his birthplace he executed for the churches and private houses works of which both the composition and colour were pleasing.

*Geronimo de Corida* was a pupil of Horfelin, and was also born at Saragossa. The archbishop of the diocese, Don Ferdinand of Aragon, was his patron, and for him he painted in oil, with correct design, various subjects from Scripture; he taught his pupils with great exactness. One of these pupils was *Frai Augustin Leonardo de Argensola*, a relative of the celebrated poet, Argensola, and a member of the order of *Mercenarios calzados*. In the year 1640 Argensola had a high reputation as a painter in Saragossa, which he afterwards enjoyed in Catalonia, Valencia, and Madrid. He left everywhere works of merit, both in oil and fresco, such as support his claim to be accounted one of the good masters of the school of Aragon.

*Felices de Cáceres* lived in Saragossa at this same time, and painted a good deal in chiaroscuro in a powerful style in distemper. His son was tamer in his manner, but both drew well, and their works were esteemed by connoisseurs of the city to which they belonged.

*Francisco Jimenez* was born at Tarrazona in 1598, and studied with success at Rome. On his return to Spain he painted for the cathedral of Saragossa two large pictures, of which the subject was taken from the life of San Pedro Arbues, as well as an Adoration of the Magi for the cathedral of Teruel. Jimenez died at Saragossa in 1666, to the great regret of all the city.

At that time there flourished in Saragossa several Aragonese painters of the naturalist school, whose works exhibit good taste and good colouring. One of these was *Rafael Peotus*, who worked in distemper on the ornamental structure raised in the cathedral in honour of the Prince Don Balthasar Carlos. On this he personified the rivers Ebro, Jalon, Huerva, and Gállego, and his landscapes were distinguished for grace and lightness. Another master was *Domingo del Camino*, who, though not so ready with his brush, was equally skilful in drawing. His pupil, *Galceran*, fell short of his master in the last quality, but surpassed him in colour. *Miguel de Espinosa* was more correct in his outlines than Galceran, and executed some good pictures for the monastery of St. Millan de la Cogolla, and for other churches of Saragossa, where he was born. A certain *Urzangui* also was a native of the same city and adorned it with his works.

*Jusepe Leonardo*, another painter of the family of Argensola, was born at Calatayud and studied at Madrid under Pedro de las Cuevas. He painted pictures containing many figures for the palace of Buen Retiro, which are still preserved in the Royal Museum on the



Prado \*. Leonardo became mad, and died in that condition at Saragossa in 1656.

In 1658 *Don Juan Galvan* died in the same city, where he had studied the first principles of his art, although he had completed his education at Rome. On his return from Italy, in 1624, the corporation (*Ayuntamiento*) of Saragossa had named him their painter, and he executed various pictures for the cathedral, as well as for the convent of the *Carmelitas calzados*.

*Micier Pablo* died at Saragossa in 1659. He was judge of the *Audiencia Real*, and a painter for his amusement only; he holds, however, a considerable place as an artist in the number of the masters of Aragon.

*Jusepe Martinez* was born at Saragossa in 1612, and studied at Rome. He had returned home before Philip IV. passed through his native city in 1642, and on that occasion he was appointed painter to the king. Neither this distinction, however, nor the favour shown him by Don John of Austria, could force him to attach himself to the court. He remained at home and died there in 1682, to the great regret of the members of the school of Aragon, which from that time began to decline into a sort of servile imitation of the naturalists, without correctness of drawing or expression in the attitudes of its figures. Martinez composed a book entitled "Dis-

\* The pictures now in the Madrid Museum are two—Nos. 210 and 248 of the present Catalogue (1843). The subjects are, a March of Spanish Troops under the Duke of Feria, in 1626, and the Surrender of Breda to Spinola. The first especially is a fair picture.

cursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura, sus rudimentos medios y fines que enseña la experiencia con los ejemplares de obras insignes de artifices ilustres." His knowledge of the art was warranted too by the good pictures which he left in the cathedral, and in the churches of S<sup>ta</sup>. Engracia and the Colegio de la Manteria, as well as in private houses.

His son, *Antonio Martinez*, was also a native of Saragossa. Like his father he studied at Rome, and on his return assisted in the execution of the works in the Colegio de la Manteria. He afterwards became a lay brother in the Carthusian monastery of the Aula Dei, where he painted the pictures of the life of St. Bruno.

Whilst Jusepe Martinez was the head of the school of Aragon, the following masters flourished there:—*Bernardo Polo* was remarkable for his pictures of fruit and flowers. *Pedro Aibar Jimenez* was the nephew and pupil of Francisco Jimenez, and painted certain pictures which are to be seen in the collegiate church of S<sup>ta</sup>. Maria de Calatayud. An artist named *Asensio* was a skilful painter of portraits, both of ladies and men. *Bartolomé Vicente* was a pupil of Don Juan Carreño in Madrid. In his native city of Saragossa he painted in fresco the dome and spandrels of the chapel of our Lady "*de los Remedios*," as well as various oil pictures for other churches. *Don Francisco de Vera Cabeza de Vaca*, an Aragonese gentleman, page to Don John of Austria, learnt drawing and painting under Jusepe Martinez, and executed various public works and cabinet pictures for his own amusement. *Geronimo Secall*, or *Secano*, learnt the rudiments of his art at Saragossa,

where he was born, and completed his education as a painter at Madrid. On his return home he executed some pictures in oil for the parish church of St. Paul and for the Hall of the Deputies, as well as certain frescos for the cupola of the chapel of St. Michael in the church just mentioned. He opened a school at Saragossa, and had pupils who made progress under him.

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## CHAPTER V.

### SCHOOLS OF SOUTHERN SPAIN.

THE great schools of the south were those of Valencia and Seville. It will be more convenient for the reader to consider the principal masters of the former of the two, before we plunge into the brilliant series of painters who belong to the latter : in pursuing this course, however, I shall, as I have already done, depart in some degree from the strict order of time.

*Pedro Orrente* was born at Monte-alegre, in Murcia, somewhere about the middle of the fifteenth century. Though he was not, as Palomino says, a pupil of Basan, he was a decided imitator of that master ; and that he was a successful imitator and a good colourist, is sufficiently shown by his works in the Madrid Gallery. Orrente has left five pictures at Valencia, and a specimen of him may be seen in the Esterhazy Gallery at Vienna : he died at Toledo in 1644, and was buried in the same church as *El Greco*. He was the master of *Pablo Pontons* and *Esteban March* : the pictures of the former are seldom

seen out of Valencia\* ; those of the latter are abundant in the Royal Gallery of Madrid. He painted many battle pieces, and his execution is free and powerful, as may be seen in the head, No. 149 of the Madrid Catalogue. His son, *Miguel March*, was also a painter, and died young, in 1670, at Valencia.

The great painter, however, of the Valencian school at this time was *Francisco Ribalta*, who was born about 1551, at Castellon de la Plana. He studied first in Valencia, where he fell in love with the daughter of his master. The father refused his consent to the marriage, but the girl promised her lover to wait whilst he improved himself in Italy. Ribalta accordingly went thither and devoted himself to his art ; studying the works of Raphael and those of the Bolognese masters, as well as the pictures of Sebastian del Piombo. On his return he entered the studio of his former teacher, who was not at home : finding a sketch of a picture on the easel he finished it in his mistress's presence, and left it to produce its effect on her father. The latter, on his return, asked his daughter who had been there, adding, "This is the man to whom I would marry thee, and not to that dauber†, Ribalta." The result of course was

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 445.

† The word in Cean Bermudez is "bisoño," which means a raw recruit and thence a bungler. It is said to have been adopted in the Italian wars. Pistol no doubt would have translated it "bezonian," as in Henry IV. 2nd pt. Act v. 3 ; compare Henry VI. 2nd pt. Act iv. 2. The commentators appear to derive this word directly from the Italian "bisognoso." The Spanish origin is the true one, and is much more in keeping with the "rodomontades Espagnoles" which make the staple of the worthy soldier's discourse.

that the marriage took place, and the fame of Ribalta immediately procured him employment. He executed the Last Supper for the college of Corpus Christi at Valencia as a commission from "El Santo Ribera," the archbishop. The whole establishment is described as "a Museum of Ribaltas."\* It is in Valencia alone that this master can be seen and appreciated, and I can only refer the reader to Mr. Ford for his account of the pictures yet preserved there. He describes Ribalta as the Spanish Domenichino and Sebastian del Piombo combined, and he is of opinion that we possess in England a grand specimen of his powers in the altar-piece of the chapel of Magdalen College, Oxford. Certain it is that there is no ground for attributing it to Morales, and I know no one who has a better claim to fix the real master than the author just quoted—himself the owner of a Ribalta of very high merit †.

The pictures which bear the name of Ribalta in the Madrid Gallery all appear in the present catalogue as the works of the son, *Juan de Ribalta*. One of these (No. 163) represents the Death of St. Francis of Assisi. The saint is admirable for truth and expression, but the angel is terribly affected. The Spanish Gallery of the

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 442.

† See Ford's Hand-book, p. 445, for the reasoning process by which the Magdalen picture has been assigned to Morales. It was taken at the siege of Vigo, and was once in the collection of the Duke of Ormond: a Mr. Freeman gave it to the college. See Dallaway's anecdote of the Arts in England, p. 481. I understand that Sir William Eden brought one if not two Ribaltas from Valencia, which are now at Windlestone. I have never seen them; the subject of one is the Last Judgment.

Louvre boasts three or four of Francisco's productions, but the son, who was born in 1597, is said to have painted so like his father and instructor, that connoisseurs are unable to distinguish their works. His Crucifixion, in St. Miguel de los Reyes, at Valencia, was executed when he was only eighteen years old. He died in 1628.

*Jacinto Gerónimo de Espinosa* was born at Cocentaina in the kingdom of Valencia, in the year 1600. He was the son of a painter, *Rodriguez de Espinosa*, who had originally come from Valladolid; and besides the instruction of his father, he is said to have studied under Ribalta. The excellence of his drawing, the attitudes of his figures, and the power of his chiaro-scuro, make it probable that he had visited Italy and had profited by the works of the Bolognese masters. The eight large pictures painted for the Carmelite convent at Valencia were executed in 1638; his Christ, for Sta. Tecla, was painted fifteen years earlier, when the artist was only twenty-three years old. Like those of Ribalta, his works must be sought at Valencia. The present catalogue of the Madrid Gallery enumerates three of his pictures, of which his Magdalen (No. 221) has an expression almost of despair, but is very fine. The Mocking of Christ by the Jews, at the time of his Scourging (No. 311), is a painful picture and in bad taste, though well painted\*. Of the eight works which bear the name of Espinosa in

\* I remember two pictures attributed to Espinosa in the catalogue of the Madrid Gallery in 1833, which I find, in that of 1843, are attributed to Juan de Ribalta. These represented the heads of a blessed and of a condemned soul. The expression of both was fine and striking. See Nos. 83 and 84 of present catalogue.

the Spanish Museum at the Louvre, the writer in the *Kunstblatt* selects *The Bearing the Cross* as the most remarkable. It is full, he says, of energy and movement, and the colours are laid on with a broad and full pencil, though in the general impression produced by the whole work there is a sort of mixture of grandeur and vulgarity\*.

Espinosa died in 1680, and was buried in the parish church of St. Martin, at Valencia †.

*Josef de Ribera*, or *Lo Spagnoletto*, cannot be entirely omitted in a history of Spanish painting, though his birthplace has been disputed and he resided in Italy. The Italian writers have contended that he was born at Gallipoli, in the kingdom of Naples, of Spanish parents, but the fact that he was born at Nátiva or San Felipe, near Valencia, seems to be clearly established by the register of his baptism there, which places his birth in 1588 ‡. He is said to have been a pupil of Ribalta; but at any rate he went to Italy very young, and there studied the powerful works of Caravaggio and the naturalists, whose style he adopted. The character of the school was congenial to the spirit of Ribera, who enhanced its gloomy vigour, and tinged it with the true feeling of his own country. He died at Naples in 1656.

\* "Und aus dem ganzen tritt uns, ich weiss nicht welche Mischung von Trivialität und Adel entgegen."—*Kunstblatt* for 1838, No. 39, s. 156.

† Sir William Eden is said to possess a fragment of a larger picture by Espinosa, consisting of three angels; it is at Windlestone in the county of Durham.

‡ Compare Lanzi, *Storia della Pittura*, ii. p. 315; Cean Bermudez, *Dicc.* iv. p. 185.

I believe the best of Ribera's works to be the beautiful *Pietà*, in San Martino at Naples; a picture rarely equalled by any master of any school. Sir Thomas Lawrence, in writing to Wilkie when at Madrid, in 1827, says, "From the one picture by Ribera, at Naples, I have been led to think you would find some grand severe specimens of his power and sentiment in *chiaro-scuro*, which Caravaggio never had. The picture I speak of was, I think, in the San Martino at Naples. A copy or repetition of it is at Lord Arundel's at Wardour\*. Wilkie, in his reply, says, "There are none here, nor perhaps anywhere, so fine as that you mention."

An account of the Riberas at Madrid, and a character of Ribera as a painter, will be found in the *Hand-book of Spain*†. At Osuna is a fine Crucifixion, at which, Mr. Ford tells us, the French amused themselves by firing, and four other pictures‡. In "*Las Agostinas Recoletas*," at Salamanca, were a Virgin of the Rosary and the great altar-piece, a Conception, signed by Ribera, with the date of 1635, and the adjunct of "*Valentino*" after his name. This picture was remarkable in Spain as showing the Virgin's feet. The convent was founded by Manuel de Zuñiga, Conde de Monterey, brother-in-law of the Count-Duke and Viceroy of Naples under Philip IV.: it was once "a museum of Neapolitan paintings: now they flap rotting in their frames, but yet are pure in surface, having never yet been defiled

\* See Kugler's *Hand-book of Italian Painting*, p. 415; Cunningham's *Life of Wilkie*, ii. pp. 478. 501.

† *Hand-book*, p. 755; compare pp. 426. 445.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 326.



by harpy cleaners or restorers. It is, or was, proposed to send them to the local Museo."\*

The Spanish Museum in the Louvre contains a large number of the works of Ribera, of which the writer in the *Kunstblatt* particularly mentions a horrible, but most powerful, martyrdom of St. Bartholomew; as well as Cato tearing out his own Entrails, and Hercules rescuing Deianira from the Centaurs†. The Adoration of the Shepherds in the Gallery of the Louvre is extremely beautiful. It is obviously unnecessary to dwell longer on a master who is so generally known, and whose pictures are to be found in so many collections out of Spain.

We will now turn to the school of Seville. The city of Cordova can boast great men in all times, from Seneca and Lucan to that Gonsalvo—"qui magni ducis nomen propriâ virtute, proprium sibi fecit."‡ Among its celebrated sons was *Pablo de Cespedes*, who was born in 1538. After passing some time at Alcalá de Henares he proceeded to Italy, where he studied the fine arts. Pacheco calls him "a great imitator of the beautiful manner of Coreggio, and one of the best colourists in Spain. The school of Andalusia owe to him the fine tone of their flesh-tints, as he has shown in this city (Seville), and in his native town of Cordova, by his famous *retablo* in the college of the Jesuits."§ Cespedes

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 581.

† *Kunstblatt* for May, 1839, No. 42, s. 167.

‡ See Ford's Hand-book, pp. 295, 296. The quotation in the text is from the epitaph of "the Great Captain," at Granada. Compare Carducho, p. 61, who says, "La Ciudad de Corboba que no solo tuvo á Seneca por unico Filosofo, sino á Don Luis de Gongora por insigne poeta."

§ Pacheco, p. 300; compare p. 317.

was buried in the chapel of St. Paul in the cathedral of Cordova, where may be seen his paintings of St. John and St. Andrew, and "a neglected Last Supper, once his master-piece." \* The panel painted by Cespedes may still be seen in the Chapter House at Seville, and in the "Contaduria Mayor" were two other works of his—the Sacrifice of Abraham, and St<sup>a</sup>. Justa and St<sup>a</sup>. Rufina, with the tower between them †. In the Spanish Museum in the Louvre is the portrait of Cespedes, painted by himself. He was the intimate friend of Arias Montanus and himself enjoyed a very high literary reputation. Cean Bermudez has printed his fragments at the end of the 5th volume of his Dictionary; among these are, a letter to Pacheco written in 1608, a poem on painting, and an essay on the comparison between ancient and modern painting and sculpture.

Cespedes held a prebend in the cathedral of Cordova, and usually passed his vacations at Seville, which he visited for the last time in 1603; his death took place in 1608. The best pupils of Cespedes were, *Juan Luis Zambrano*, *Juan de Peñalosa*, *Antonio de Contreras*, *Cristobal Vela*, and *Antonio Mohedano*.

*Alonso Vazquez*, a native of Ronda, worked with Mohedano in the convent of St. Francis, at Seville; both excelled in the execution of fruits, and Pacheco tells us that a large picture of Lazarus by Vazquez, in the possession of the Duke of Alcalá, exhibited this skill in the various accessories which decorated the sideboard

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 300.

† Cean Bermudez, *Catedral de Sevilla*, pp. 151. 156.

of the rich man \*. Mohedano died in 1625; Vazquez earlier than 1630, which is the date given by Palomino †.

*Pedro de Villegas Marmolejo* was, like Céspedes, a friend of Arias Montanus; he was born at Seville in 1520, and studied in Italy. Mr. Ford calls him an "imitator of the Florentine school," ‡ and speaks of his Visitation in the cathedral of Seville. Villegas died in 1597.

The next master whom it is necessary to mention is the licentiate *Juan de las Roelas*, or, as he is commonly called, "*El Clérigo Roelas*." The pictures of Roelas which remain at Seville are sufficient to confer on him a very high rank as a painter; yet his name is scarcely known out of his own country. He was born in 1558 or 1560; that he studied at Venice is probable from his style: he held a prebend in the collegiate church of Olivares, where he died in 1625, and where some of his last, though not his best, works still exist §. His finest pictures, however, were executed for the churches of Seville. The Santiago destroying the Moors in the battle of Clavijo, decorates the chapel of this saint in the cathedral. Mr. Ford says it is not one of his best works ||; it is nevertheless a fine picture: the horse is not equal to the rest, but the saint is bursting on the infidel foe with the terrors of the whirlwind: it was executed in 1609. The Martyrdom of St. Andrew was formerly in the college of S<sup>to</sup>. Tomas, but is now, I be-

\* Compare Palomino, iii. p. 455; Cean Bermudez, Dicc. v. p. 146.

† Pacheco, pp. 421, 422.

§ Ibid. p. 256.

‡ Hand-book, p. 253.

|| Ibid. p. 270.

lieve, removed to the Museum in the Merced—"the only place in the world fully to understand the great school of Seville."\* Lebrun, it is said, persisted in believing it to be a work of Tintoret's†; though thoroughly Venetian in its colour, the similarity is hardly so striking as this story would imply. The tone is redder than Tintoret‡; the landscape has become rather too blue; the figures of the executioners are splendid. The university, formerly the Jesuits' convent, contains over the high altar three large pictures by Roelas: the Nativity is not, in my eyes, equal to the St. Andrew or the St. Isidore of the same master; the colour is, however, very fine, and has a rosy tinge about it, with a softness of execution and an expression by no means characteristic of Tintoret. The angels are peculiarly beautiful, and "no one ever painted the sleek grimalkin Jesuit like Roelas."§ One of these pictures does not escape the sharp censure of Pacheco||. "As it appears to me," he says, "the painter has placed a sheet, and not a small one, in the hands of the Virgin his mother, as the bed of the child Jesus, whilst he has imitated Basan by leaving the child naked. Assuming what we have said above, how do artists dare to paint him thus?" (That is, assuming that the child was wrapped in swaddling clothes and laid in the manger.) "I can only answer—all I have to do is to observe on the fact—one

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 264.

† Ibid. p. 267.

‡ Roelas's shadows have not the blackness of those of Tintoret and of some of the Spanish masters. We learn from Mr. Eastlake that this tone may perhaps be attributed in these artists to the immoderate use of verdgris as a dryer.—Materials for the History of Oil Painting, p. 78.

§ Quilliet, p. 300.

|| Pacheco, p. 506.

thing is certain ; even if the sacred text did not tell us so, no one would presume so little prudence and so little compassion in his most Holy Mother, as that she would expose the child at such a rigorous season, and in the middle of the night, to the inclemency of the cold."

The great work, however, of Roelas is, in my opinion, his Death of St. Isidore in the parish church of that saint. It resembles Tintoret more than the Martyrdom of St. Andrew does. The face of the dying saint upheld by his sorrowing clergy is very fine, and the subject suggests a comparison which would be fatal to most pictures—it reminds us of the Communion of St. Jerome by Domenichino ; nor do I believe that, as a whole, the work of Roelas would lose by juxtaposition with that master-piece.

There are many other pictures by Roelas to be seen at Seville. Mr. Ford refers to the Conception in the Academia as equal to Guido \*. I have already noticed the objections of Pacheco to Roelas's treatment of the subject of St. Anne teaching the Virgin to read †, in which, says the inspector of the Inquisition, "the Virgin is kneeling before her mother, reading in something like a missal ; she is about 13 or 14 years old, with a rose-coloured tunic and a blue mantle spotted with stars, and with an imperial crown on her head. At her side St. Anne has a buffet with refreshments imitating nature ; underneath it are a cat and a little dog : close to the Virgin stand a work-basket and some play-things." This picture was in the "Merced Calzada." ‡

\* Hand-book, p. 270.

† See above, p. 15.

‡ Pacheco, p. 506.

The Museum of Madrid contains only one alleged specimen of Roelas—Moses Striking the Rock. It is boldly painted, and somewhat resembles Tintoret, but is far inferior to that master. To my eyes it appeared to have suffered some injury, and Mr. Williams, the best judge in such a matter, did not hold it to be a genuine work of the master\*. The Spanish Museum in the Louvre contains three pictures which bear the name of Roelas; the writer in the *Kunstblatt* considers only one of these—the portrait of his daughter—as being really painted by him†. Mr. Buchanan mentions a picture by Roelas as having been sent from Spain in 1809 by Wallis, but he does not say into whose hands it passed‡. After all, it is at Seville, and at Seville alone, as I have already said, that this master can be properly appreciated.

Roelas died at Olivares, after executing the pictures which have been mentioned as his last works.

*Luis Fernandez* worked in Seville at the end of the sixteenth century, and is known, not by his pictures, but as the master of Juan de Castillo, Herrera, and Pacheco. The first of these three, *Juan de Castillo*, was born in 1584 at Seville; he had an elder brother, *Agustin de Castillo*, who, like Juan, was a pupil of Fernandez. Agustin lived and painted at Cordova, but his works there had perished even in Cean Bermudez's time, although a picture by him of the Adoration of the Kings remained in the cathedral at Cadiz. Juan owes his fame to the fact that he was the master of Alonso Cano,

\* Compare Ford's Hand-book, pp. 242, 263.

† *Kunstblatt* for 1838, No. 93, p. 379.

‡ *Memoirs*, ii. p. 235.

Pedro de Moya, and Murillo. Agustin died in 1626; his brother in 1640. The Spanish collection in the Louvre contains specimens of the works of both brothers.

A journey which Juan de Castillo made to Granada was the occasion of Miguel Cano, the father of Alonso, transferring his residence to Seville. The six great pictures which Castillo executed for the church of Monte Sion, at Seville, are now in the Museum. The Annunciation and Salutation are meagre in colour and defective in drawing, though the Virgin's head and hands in the former are well painted. The Assumption is better; the figure of the Virgin herself and the old man gazing upwards, as well as the person looking into the tomb, are fine\*.

The son of Agustin, *Antonio Castillo y Saavedra*, was born at Cordova in 1603, and educated in the school of Zurbaran. After returning to his native city he became convinced that he was the first painter of the day, but on a visit to Seville he was painfully undeceived. The Murillos in the "Claustro chico" overwhelmed him with surprise.—"When he saw the St. Leander and St. Isidore, as well as the St. Antony of Padua by the same master, he exclaimed, 'It is all over with Castillo! Is it possible that Murillo, that servile imitator of my uncle, can be the author of all this grace and beauty of colouring?'" He returned to Cordova, attempted to imitate and equal Murillo, felt satisfied that he had failed, and died in the following year (1667) of the effects of envy and annoyance.

Of *Francisco Pacheco* much has already been said.

\* See Foreign Quarterly, No. xxvi. p. 254.

He was, according to his own account, seventy years of age when he published his book, that is to say, in 1649\*; consequently he was born in 1579, or, reckoning current years, in 1580. His death took place in 1654. Pacheco occupies a conspicuous place in the history of Spanish art, not so much on account of the merit of his own pictures, as because he was the teacher and father-in-law of Velazquez, as well as the most remarkable writer of his nation on the art which he practised. There seems no good reason for supposing, with Palomino, that after he left the school of Luis Fernandez he studied in Italy†; indeed the negative evidence is strong the other way: had he visited Rome, we should not have been left in doubt of the fact.

Pacheco was a friend of Montañes, and many of the

\* Pacheco, p. 470; compare Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* iv. p. 4; Palomino, iii. p. 476. Palomino is no doubt very inaccurate, but, upon the whole, I think Cean Bermudez attacks him here without reason. Pacheco, as Cean says, obtained the license to print his book in 1641, but some portion of the book was probably written several years before he obtained the license; thus, in speaking of Velazquez, he says the king conferred on him the office of Ayuda de Cámara, "*en este de 1638*," meaning, as I presume, the year in which he was then writing. Cean reckons the 70 years back from 1641 instead of from 1649, and finds fault with Palomino for having placed the author's birth nine years too late. It is perfectly possible, however, that Pacheco, when his book was published, may have altered the statement of his age to suit the time, not of its composition, but of its publication. Indeed it would be natural so to do, for he is talking of the value of his own experience and knowledge at such an age; his counsel, he would mean, *when the reader received it*, was that of a man of seventy years of age; no matter when it was written if he still adhered to what he had said.

† Compare Pacheco, p. 243. 265. 344; Palomino, iii. p. 476; Cean Bermudez, *Dicc.* iv. p. 5.



statues of the latter were coloured by the former: indeed he was the first painter in Seville who brought this branch of art to perfection.

In the year 1600 Pacheco was employed to paint six large pictures of the Life of S. Ramon, in competition with Alonso Vazquez, for the "Merced Calzada."\* Two of Pacheco's pictures will be found at Alcalá de Guadaira—one in the church of St. Sebastian, and the other in that of Santiago†. In the Esterhazy palace at Vienna is a picture of Moses Striking the Rock‡.

In 1611 Pacheco visited Madrid, the Escorial, and Toledo, where he made acquaintance with El Greco, and became a friend of Vincencio Carducho. On his return to Seville he opened a school, among the pupils in which were Alonso Cano and Diego Velazquez. It has been already stated that this artist filled the office of Inspector of Sacred Pictures to the Inquisition: his

\* San Ramon, or Raimundus, de Peñaforte was, like St. Vincent Ferrer, a Dominican. S. Ramon was founder of the order "B. Mariæ de Mercede," the object of which institution was the redemption of captives. He is the saint of whom pictures are occasionally seen as sailing across the sea on his cloak. The occasion of this miracle was, that Don Jayme el Conquistador (the infant hero of Southey's ballad of Queen Mary's Christening) had refused to discard his mistress, and S. Ramon therefore determined on leaving him to his own devices. The king had forbidden any ship to take the saint, though one would have thought that under such circumstances Don Jayme would have been glad to get rid of him; upon which St. Ramon performed the passage from Majorca to Barcelona in six hours, and landed with himself and his cloak perfectly dry—"veluti ex arcâ vestiariâ eam recens accepisset"—to use the words of Ribadeneira. Pt. ii. p. 25.

† Ford's Hand-book, p. 236.

‡ Kugler, Handbuch der Gesch. der Malerei, s. 257.

brother Francis was also a familiar of the same tribunal. Velazquez having married his master's daughter, Pacheco and his son-in-law went to Madrid in 1623, whither the latter had been summoned by the Count-Duke of Olivarez. Pacheco thus witnessed the distinctions conferred on the husband of his daughter. He returned to Seville, and died there in 1654.

*Don Luis Pasqual Gaudin* has been mentioned\* as one of the artists whose mode of dressing the Virgin offended Pacheco's sense of propriety. Yet he was a Carthusian monk, having professed in the "Cartuxa" of Granada in 1595, at the age of thirty-eight. He worked a good deal in Seville, and died in 1621.

We must now turn to *Francisco de Herrera el viejo*, or the elder, who was born at Seville in 1576; he could not, as Cean Bermudez observes, have been a pupil of Pacheco, but was probably a fellow scholar with him in the school of Luis Fernandez.

Herrera was the first master who introduced into the school of Andalusia that bold and vigorous touch which was adopted by Velazquez: in Herrera, indeed, this quality was somewhat exaggerated; he is said, when he had no pupils, to have directed his maid-servant to smear the colours on his canvass with a broom, and then, whilst they were still wet, to have formed them into a sort of sketch with his own brush. The temper and character of Herrera were as coarse and violent as the execution of his pictures. He drove away his pupils; his son robbed him and fled to Rome, and his daughter became a nun. Herrera was fond of engraving on copper, and was charged with coining.

\* See above, p. 13.

Whether guilty or innocent, he took refuge in the college of St. Hermenegild, which belonged to the Jesuits. Whilst sheltered here, he executed the large picture of that royal martyr which formerly hung on the staircase of the University, but is now in the Museum of Seville; it has been much retouched\*. This picture was shown to Philip IV., when he was at Seville in 1624; he asked after the artist, and was informed that he was charged with coining, and had taken sanctuary: the king caused him to be called, and pardoned him, with a caution that powers such as his ought not to be abused.

The parish church of S<sup>a</sup>. Bernardo still contains the Last Judgment of Herrera: in St. Martin, also, are some of his early works†; but the four large pictures formerly in S<sup>a</sup>. Buenaventura have been removed from Seville‡: three of these are now in the possession of the Earl of Clarendon at the Grove; the fourth, I believe, is in Paris. They are singular pictures, not remarkable for the relief of the figures, but executed with great vigour and truth. The Spanish collection in the Louvre professes to contain no less than thirteen paintings of the elder Herrera: there does not appear to be a single specimen in the Royal Gallery at Madrid. I am informed that among certain pictures left to the town of Cherbourg by a M. Henry are two Herreras—one a David, a single figure with fine purple drapery, and very good; the other a saint, or Job, of inferior quality§.

\* See Ford's Hand-book, p. 264; For. Qy. Rev. No. xxvi. p. 256.

† Ford's Hand-book, pp. 276—270.

‡ Widdrington, Spain and the Spaniards in 1843, vol. i. p. 250.

§ I am indebted to Mr. Ford for this information; the numbers are 33 and 34.

The Duke of Dalmatia's picture of the Doctors of the Church is by far the finest work of Herrera that I have seen : those at Seville indeed were not so placed as to be seen to advantage, but they did not appear to me equal in force and power to this one ; whence it came I know not. The colour is good, and is laid on with an extraordinary impasto.

*Francisco Herrera el Mozo* \*, as he is called, was the son who left his father and fled to Rome. He was born in 1622. In Italy he became known as "*Lo Spagnuolo dei Pesci*," from his skill in painting fish in pieces of still-life, or as the Spaniards call pictures which display eatables, *bodegones*—tavern pieces. On his father's death he returned to Seville, and executed the large picture in the "Sala de la Hermandad del Santisimo," in the court of orange-trees. Mr. Ford calls it "affected and indistinct ;" a somewhat severe sentence, but, in fact, the younger Herrera was a feeble artist †. The same qualities of softness and affectation characterize the angels in the picture of St. Francis in the cathedral ; the saint himself is fine, and altogether this last is one of the painter's best works. Both these pictures were engraved by Arteaga. Herrera was elected vice-president of the Academy of Seville when Murillo was president, and perhaps from jealousy he went to live at Madrid. Here he painted a good deal, and died

\* See Ford's Hand-book, p. 256, for Mr. Inglis's mistake in turning "el mozo," or "the younger," into "hermoso," or "the beautiful." A notable instance of the danger of taking down the information of a cicerone, or valet-de-place, by the ear, and not checking it by books.

† Hand-book, pp. 250. 256.

in 1685 \*. It should be stated that Herrera el viejo had another son, older than Francisco Herrera, who was a painter, and is known by the name of *Herrera el Rubio*; he died, however, very young.

The next master whom it is necessary to consider is *Alonso Cano*, and there are few Spanish painters more remarkable. His father, Miguel Cano, was a native of La Mancha, but had settled at Granada as a designer and carver of *retablos*; by the advice of Juan de Castillo he afterwards removed his residence to Seville. Alonso Cano was born in 1601, and studied sculpture under the great master of the day, Juan Martinez Montañes; in Seville he frequented the schools of Pacheco and Castillo. It has been suspected that Cano profited by certain antique statues which were in the collection of the Duque de Alcalà, in the house known at Seville as "la casa de Pilatos:" † at any rate there is a grace and a simplicity about some of his works, both in sculpture and painting, which seem to indicate a study of better models than the productions of the masters under whom he learnt his art.

Some of Cano's works in coloured sculpture are singularly beautiful: the *retablo* in the parish church of Lebriga was executed in 1630 ‡. Nothing can exceed the small Virgin and Child at the top of the "*Facistol*," or Lectern, in the cathedral of Granada. The faults inherent in coloured figures are less offensive in a

\* There is a picture ascribed to Herrera el Mozo in the Pinacothek of Munich, 1st division, No. 356.

† See Ford's Hand-book, pp. 247, 260.

‡ Hand-book, p. 237.

miniature form. Mr. Ford says, "The child is inferior, and possibly by another hand."\* In the sacristy, he adds, "is a charming *Concepcion*, carved by Cano, with his peculiar delicate hands, small mouth, full eyes, and serious expression; also by him, in the Oratorio, is a Virgin in blue drapery and very dignified."† In the church of St. Nicolas at Murcia is "an exquisite St. Antonio, carved in wood, in a brown Capuchin dress, about eighteen inches high, by Alonso Cano, and inscribed: it is the gem of Murcia."‡ Again, in the cathedral of Toledo is a St. Francisco, two and a half feet high, "which is a master-piece of cadaverous ecstatic sentiment."§ The head of St. Paul in the cathedral of Granada is wonderfully executed, but placed as it is in a glass case, and being the size of life, coloured, it produces all the effect of an anatomical preparation||.

Cano fought a duel with Sebastian de Llanos y Valdes, whom he wounded, and he was accordingly obliged to fly to Madrid. In the capital he found a protector in his former fellow-pupil, Velazquez, who presented him to the Count-Duke of Olivares. In 1643, Cano went to seek employment at Toledo, and in the interval, between this year and 1650, must have occurred the death of his wife, who was supposed to have been assassinated by the artist himself: it is said that he endured the rack without confessing, but Cean Bermudez was unable to find any record of the judicial proceedings in his

\* Hand-book, p. 386; compare For. Qy. No. xxvi. p. 265.

† Ibid. p. 387.

‡ Ibid. p. 411.

§ Ibid. p. 847.

|| For. Qy. No. xxvi. p. 265.

case\*. According to the account of Palomino, he fled from justice originally to Valencia, and then to the Carthusian convent of the Porta Cœli, near that city; it is certain that he left pictures in both places.

In 1651 he obtained from the Crown a stall as *racio-nero*, or minor canon, in the cathedral of Granada, on condition of taking orders within the year. This space of time was twice enlarged, but as he failed to comply with the condition the chapter ejected him from his preferment†. He was, however, afterwards ordained sub-deacon on the title of a chaplaincy to the Bishop of Salamanca; the king then caused his stall to be restored to him, with the arrears, and he enjoyed it until his death, which took place in 1667.

In the Madrid Gallery is a portrait of a sculptor by Velazquez, which is conjectured to be that of Alonso Cano (No. 81).

Cano's character was singular and violent: whether he really killed his wife or not we do not know, but he was subject to strong impulses, and acted upon them without reflection. To the poor he was charitable; but, with this exception, his finer feelings appear to have worked themselves off in the pensive melancholy and

\* Cean Bermudez, Diccion. i. p. 211; compare Palomino, iii. p. 578.

† According to Palomino it was necessary for him to obtain a dispensation from Rome for bigamy before he could take orders, since he had married a widow (iii. p. 580). So in England, bigamy in its proper sense, either of marrying twice or marrying a widow, was originally a bar to pleading benefit of clergy, since it was an obstacle to orders; see 1 Edw. IV. 12. Clergy was restored to bigamists by 1 Edw. VI. 12. See Hale, Pleas of the Crown, p. 229; Reeve's History of the English Law, i. p. 143; iv. p. 471.

tender sentiment of his Virgins. Some of the anecdotes which Palomino relates of him are so characteristic, not only of the man, but of the time and of the country, that it is worth while to extract them.

An auditor (*Oidor*) of the chancery of Granada bore especial devotion to St. Antony of Padua, and wished for an image of the saint by the hands of Cano. When the figure was finished the judge came to see it, and liked it much. He inquired what money the artist expected for his work : the answer was, one hundred doubloons. The amateur was astonished, and asked "How many days might he have spent upon it?" Cano replied, "Some five-and-twenty days." "Well," said the *Oidor*, "that comes to four doubloons a day."—"Your lordship reckons wrong," answered Cano, "for I have spent fifty years in learning how to execute it in twenty-five days."—"That is all very well ; but I have spent my patrimony and my youth in studying at the university, and in a higher profession ; now here I am, *Oidor* in Granada, and if I get a doubloon a day it is as much as I do." Cano had scarcely patience to hear him out. "A higher profession indeed !" he exclaimed. "The king can make judges out of the dust of the earth, but it is reserved for God alone to make an Alonso Cano;" saying this, he took up the figure and dashed it to pieces on the pavement ; whereupon the *Oidor* escaped as fast as he could, not feeling sure that Cano's fury would confine itself to the statue. If we are to believe Palomino, it was owing to the offence taken by so great a man as an *Oidor* of Granada, "where they are venerated like deities upon the earth," that the canons deter-



mined on declaring Cano's prebend vacant on account of the non-fulfilment of the condition of taking orders\*.

Another characteristic of Cano was his insuperable repugnance for any persons tainted with Judaism. It appears that in Granada the unhappy persons who were *penitenciados*, that is, who had been subjected to penance by the Inquisition, were in the habit of getting what they could to support themselves by selling linen and other articles about the streets; they wore of course the *sambenito*, or habit prescribed by the Holy Office as the external mark of their backslidings. If Cano met one of these men in the street he would cross to the other side, or get out of his way into the passage of a house. Occasionally, however, in turning a corner, or by mere accident, one of these wretches touched the garment of the artist, who then instantly sent his servant home for another cloak, or another doublet, and gave the polluted one to his attendant. The servant, however, did not dare to wear what he had thus acquired, or his master would have turned him out of the house forthwith; he could only sell it. It is added that the manifest profit which the servant derived from his master's religious scruples made people doubt whether in all cases the Jew had really brushed against the artist, or whether the servant had himself twitched the cloak as the Jew passed. At any rate the servant had been heard to remonstrate, and urge "that it was the slightest touch in the world, Sir; it cannot matter."—"Not matter?

\* Palomino, iii. pp. 582-3.

you scoundrel—in such things as these, every thing matters;” and the valet got the cloak.

On one occasion Cano's housekeeper, with an excess of audacity, had actually brought one of these *penitencidos* into the house, and was buying some linen of him; a dispute about the price caused high words, and the master came, hearing a disturbance. What could he do? he could not defile himself by laying hands on the miscreant, who got away whilst the artist was looking for some weapon which he could use without the risk of touching him. But the housekeeper had to fly to a neighbour's, and it was only after many entreaties, and after performing a rigorous quarantine, and undergoing purification, that she was received back again. It is possible that, like the *Amas* of other canons since the days of Cano, she had valuable qualities besides her sincere repentance and her orthodoxy, which may have pleaded in her favour.

In Alonso Cano the ruling passion was strong in death, in more ways than one. He lived in the parish of Santiago in the Albaycin, being the quarter in which was the prison of the Inquisition; the priest of the parish visited him when on his death-bed, and proposed to administer the sacraments to him after confession. Cano quietly asked him whether he was in the habit of administering it to the Jews on whom penance was imposed by the Holy Office; the priest replied that he was. “Well then,” said Cano, “Señor Licenciado, go with God, (*se vaya con Dios*,) and do not trouble yourself to call again; for the priest who administers the sacraments to the penitent Jews shall not administer them to

me." Accordingly he sent for the priest of the parish of St. Andrew. This last, however, gave offence in another form; he put into the artist's hands a crucifix of indifferent execution; Cano desired him to take it away: the priest was so shocked that he thought him possessed, and was on the point of exorcising him. "My son," he said, "what dost thou mean? this is the Lord who redeemed thee, and who must save thee."—"I know that well," was the painter's answer; "but do you want to provoke me with this wretched thing, so as to give me over to the devil? let me have a simple cross, for with that I can reverence Christ in faith; I can worship him as he is in himself, and as I contemplate him in my own mind." This was done, and Alonso Cano died in the most exemplary manner, edifying the bystanders with his piety. He was buried in the vault below the choir of the cathedral of Granada\*.

Cano was a great painter; his colour was good; his execution vigorous; the taste of his draperies and his forms in general pure; in the expression of his figures he was full of sentiment and tenderness, without being feeble or affected. The critic in the *Kunstblatt* speaks thus of his works in the Spanish Museum of the Louvre†.

"The second room is rich in master-pieces: we find in it more than thirty Murillos; two large pictures of Alonso Cano's have the next claim on our attention. The one (No. 18) represents the Deposition from the Cross, and is extraordinarily like a Vandyke; the other, Balaam and his Ass, may be called a very remarkable picture.

\* Palomino, iii. p. 585.

† *Kunstblatt* for May, 1838, No. 40, s. 159.

We have to admire the simple and straightforward manner in which this excellent artist has conceived his subject, and has extracted from it all the aid which it was capable of affording him; we see what can be done by the genuine feeling of one who unites sound common sense with the accomplishments of a well-instructed painter, and who thinks of nature far more than he does of the dogmatic principles of any school of art. The angel stands in the road with his drawn sword, unseen by Balaam, but visible to his ass; the latter, in her terror, has shrunk back against the wall of the vineyard, but, driven again by force into the path, she still finds the same obstacle in her way; she rears and seems on the point of sinking down under the blows of the aged prophet. Alonso Cano has in this picture produced a master-piece, probably without any suspicion that he had done so; for nothing can exceed the simplicity and natural feeling with which the subject is presented to us. The manner of Cano as a painter is soft, rich, and pleasing; he might be called the Spanish Coreggio, as much with reference to his execution as to the character of his genius: his free and fertile pencil worked gracefully and naturally, without effect and without ever sacrificing correctness of drawing. With regard to his colouring, it is rich and fine, but a little smoky; the outlines consequently appear somewhat indistinct when one is close, though the detail and purity of the form may be seen at a certain distance from the picture. As a proof of what we say, we appeal to the Virgin and Child (No. 16), which is so badly placed, and to the Deposition of the Cross (No. 18).

“In the New Spanish Museum there are twenty-one pictures by Alonso Cano. Like the other Spanish masters he has painted his own portrait more than once. The one which bears the No. 30 is the best, and leaves nothing to desire in its colour or the transparency of its shadows.”\*

The Royal Gallery at Madrid contains eight Canos; one of these, the Christ at the Column, came from the Escorial. Of the remainder I would observe that the picture of the Body of Christ, supported and wept over by an Angel, is a splendid work†, and the head of the St. Jerome meditating on the Last Judgment is really magnificent‡. In the north transept of the cathedral of Seville is a Virgin and Child, painted originally in Malaga for Don Andres de Cascantes; it is a fine picture, but with the glass which covered it when I saw it, and hanging where it does, it was not easy to appreciate its merits§. In the University are a St. John the Evangelist, and a St. John the Baptist. In the church of Monte Sion, in the same city, is a long picture of Purgatory, by Cano, which is very striking; one female head is especially beautiful, with the flakes of fire running off it. The flames below give no light; according to the conception of Milton—

\* Kunstblatt for May, 1838, s. 160. This is the portrait of him as a young man; there are two others at a more advanced period of life (Nos. 31, 32), in the same collection.

† No. 166.

‡ No. 227.

§ See Ford's Hand-book, p. 256; Cean Bermudez, Catedral de Sevilla, p. 73.

“ A dungeon horrible on all sides round  
As one great furnace flamed, yet from those flames  
No light, but rather darkness visible  
Served only to discover sights of woe.”

The finest Cano, however, which I saw in Seville, was the Tobit, belonging to Mr. Williams; the colour of the landscape was very beautiful, and the form of the angel good. Where this picture and the two Holy Families, formerly in the same hands, now are, I do not know. At Malaga, in the church of Santiago, is a good Madonna del Rosario \* S<sup>ta</sup>. Gines, at Madrid, contains a painting of Christ seated and stripped †.

To return to Paris, Marshal Soult has two or three Canos; one, if I recollect right, is a very good female head. In the Esterhazy collection, at Vienna, will be found a very fine St. John writing his Revelations: it is almost equal in dignity to a Frà Bartolomeo: besides this, there is in the same palace a “*noli me tangere*” of great merit.

Herr von Speck of Leipsic had, in 1828, a Virgin and Child by Alonso Cano; and in the Pinacothek of Munich there is a picture of St. Anthony of Padua kneeling before the Virgin with the infant Christ in his arms. A picture of the same subject is described by Waagen as belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury, at Alton Towers ‡.

Cano had a pupil, *Pedro Atanasio Bocanegra*, who was born at Granada, and has left some pictures in the cathedral of his native place. Mr. Ford says of him, “he was a vain man, and painted pictures

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 354.

† Ibid. p. 790.

‡ Waagen, England, ii. s. 463.

larger in size than in merit."\* He is said to have profited by the study of Pedro de Moya's works, of whom we shall presently speak.

I never saw any picture by Cano's adversary in his duel, *Sebastian de Llanos y Valdes*, except that in the gallery of the Duke of Dalmatia; which came, I believe, from the College of S<sup>to</sup>. Tomas, at Seville. It represents the Virgin "*del Rosario*," with worshippers kneeling at her feet. The productions of this master, not in private houses, were so rare that Cean Bermudez could only mention two, of which this picture is one. There is a feeling of the old type about the Virgin and the Angels; whilst the truth of the figure at her feet, the richness of the drapery, and the southern glow of the garden background, combine, in my opinion, to place it among the finest works of the Spanish school. The Virgin's head is very beautiful; her hair is light; the man kneeling is clothed in black, and has his breviary in his hand. Llanos y Valdes was the scholar who endured the longest the harshness of old Herrera; he was more than once President of the Academy of Seville.

If the picture just referred to be that from S<sup>to</sup>. Tomas, it bears the date of 1667.

*Pedro de Moya* was born at Granada in 1610, and became the fellow pupil of Alonso Cano and Murillo, in the school of Castillo. Tired of painting, he entered the army, and served in Flanders; but here his old taste returned at the sight of the works of the great Flemish painters. Vandyck's pictures especially struck him, and he determined to seek that master in London and

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 387.

become his pupil. This he did, but before he had been more than six months with Vandyck the latter died, in England, in 1641. Overwhelmed with grief, Moya returned to Seville; but his short acquaintance with the great portrait-painter is said to have borne fruit in the influence which it exercised on the style of Murillo\*. Later in life he returned to Granada, and there left some of his works. How successfully Moya imitated Vandyck may be seen from a portrait by him in the Esterhazy palace, at Vienna. His death took place in 1666. According to Waagen, there is a picture of Moya's in the possession of the Earl of Shrewsbury, at Alton Towers; the subject is a merry party, "full of life," he says, "and clearly painted; but, like many Spanish pictures, it wants style."†

*Francisco Zurbaran* is a master whose life does not offer the amusing incidents afforded by that of Alonso Cano: as a painter, however, he was quite as great a man; if he wanted Cano's tenderness, he made up for it in vigour. Zurbaran was born of humble parents, at Fuente de Cantos, in Estremadura, in the year 1598. When sent to Seville he became the pupil of Roelas; but he worked most from nature, and was especially careful in his studies of drapery.

Velazquez caused him to be summoned to Madrid; here he painted for the Buenretiro the Labours of Hercules, which are now in the Royal Museum; he was made painter to the king, as his signature on one of his

\* See Kugler's *Hand-book of German and Flemish Painting*, p. 243, Editor's note.

† Waagen, *England*, ii. s. 463.



pictures, formerly in the "Cartuxa" of Xeres, shows. Palomino tells us that Philip IV. stopped one day to look at him whilst at work, and, laying his hand on the artist's shoulder, saluted him as "*Pintor del Rey y Rey de los pintores.*"\* Zurbaran is said to have died at the court in 1662.

This master has been called the Spanish Caravaggio. Mr. Ford truly says he was "a far greater and more Titianesque painter. He was unrivalled in painting the Spanish Carthusian, as Murillo was for Mendicant monks, and Roelas for Jesuits." "The studier of style," he adds in another passage, "will notice the peculiar pinky tone of this master, especially in female cheeks; the prevalent use of rouge at that time influenced his eye, as it did that of Velazquez."† Where indeed shall we find a Caravaggio equal to Zurbaran's noble picture formerly in the College of S.<sup>o</sup>. Tomas? The Pietà of the Italian master in the Vatican, though fine, does not in my opinion, come near it. Indeed there are few pictures in the world which are superior to it. I have been told that when it hung in the Louvre with all the master-pieces of Italy beside it, it kept its place. This picture was painted in 1625. The Virgin and Christ are above in glory with St. Paul and St. Dominic, whilst below is St. Thomas Aquinas with the four Doctors of the Latin Church‡; nearest of all kneel the Emperor Charles V.

\* Palomino, iii. p. 529.

† Ford's Hand-book, pp. 256. 264.

‡ St. Thomas's position in this picture is most appropriate; he was ranked with Ambrose, Augustin, Jerome, and Gregory, and treated as the fifth great Doctor of the Latin Church by Pius V. in 1568. See Ribadeneira, p. 123.

in his imperial crown and mantle, and the Archbishop Diego Deza, who was the founder of the college. The two latter figures are inimitable, nor is the figure of St. Jerome, with his uplifted finger, and the expression of deep thought on his face, at all less striking; a broad mass of shadow is thrown across the lower part, but the background is sunny; the composition is simple, and the style severe and massive. The head of St. Thomas was a portrait of Don Agustin de Escobar\*. This picture is now in the Museum at Seville, where, according to Captain Widdrington, it can scarcely be seen†. Wilkie does not seem to have paid much attention to any Spanish pictures, except those of Murillo and Velazquez; yet even he says, in his journal, he "saw the Francisco Zurbaran in the Santa Tomasa (*sic*)—a superb picture, which places that master next to Murillo, and in a style that we could wish the great painter of Seville had in some degree followed."‡

About the same time that he painted this celebrated picture, Zurbaran executed those in the *retablo* of the chapel of St. Peter in the cathedral, to the order of the Marquis de Malagon. It is not easy to see them where they hang.

Of the three pictures formerly in the sacristy of the Carthusian convent, the finest is that of San Bruno in deep humility before the Pope. Captain Widdrington

\* Mr. Ford says (p. 264) the head of S<sup>to</sup>. Domingo; but see Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* iv. p. 46. It is right to say that D. Agustin de Escobar is not the Jesuit whom Pascal has immortalized.

† Spain in 1843, i. p. 247.

‡ Cunningham's *Life of Wilkie*, ii. p. 529.

says of this picture, too,—“After a long search for the San Bruno before the Pope, by Zurbaran, formerly the “Cartuxa,” I was on the point of giving it up, when I discovered it at the very top of the chancel,” (that is, in the New Museum, formerly the “Merced,”) “where a telescope was almost necessary for its inspection. This is not only one of the best pictures in Seville, but there are few better in Spain; yet it is completely lost in the situation they have assigned it. The same has happened, more or less, to most of the pictures in this vast repository; and it is difficult to imagine the reasons which have influenced the ‘Hanging Committee’ of the Academy in their selection of places for the great productions of their celebrated predecessors. The misfortune is, as I was informed, the fitting up this ill-managed site has cost a large sum of money, which, of course, there will be difficulty in again raising, should they repent of their mistaken proceedings.”\*

In two others of the great monasteries of Spain, Zurbaran executed a series of pictures. One of these was the “Cartuxa,” at Xeres; the other, that of the Hieronymites, at Guadaloupe. The pictures from the former are now in the Museum at Cadiz; those from the latter, eight in number, were seen by Captain Widdrington, in 1843, in their original places, and on his return to Madrid he suggested their transfer to the Royal Museum†.

A St. Bruno, by Zurbaran, will be found in the Museum at Valladolid‡.

\* Spain in 1843, i. p. 248.

† Ford's Hand-book, p. 538; Spain in 1843, i. p. 127.

‡ Ford's Hand-book, p. 630.

With regard to Zurbaran's pictures in the Museum at Madrid, ten of those in the present catalogue are the Labours of Hercules, already mentioned as painted for the Buen-retiro. Another of the infant Christ asleep, with the crown of thorns by his side, is finely coloured, and a beautiful work.

The Duke of Dalmatia possesses about twelve of this master's pictures, among which is a St. Anthony—a good specimen—from the "Mercenarios descalzos," at Seville.

The Spanish Museum in the Louvre professes to contain as many as eighty productions from the pencil of Zurbaran. The writer in the *Kunstblatt* gives it credit for thirty fine originals; a fair share, it must be admitted. He considers the Judith with the Head of Holofernes (No. 322), and the Monk with a Skull (No. 351), as the two best\*.

The Pinacothek at Munich possesses a striking picture of St. John and the Virgin. In the Esterhazy Palace at Vienna there is an Immaculate Conception, ascribed to Zurbaran, and two heads, which Kugler tells us resemble the manner of Rubens†.

Among the few specimens of the master in this country, is a Flight into Egypt, belonging to Lord Clarendon; and the Duke of Sutherland has four pictures, of which one, a Holy Family, is highly prized by Waagen‡; it is signed by the artist: besides this, there are three figures of Saints, from the collection of the Duke of Dalmatia. Waagen thinks that the picture attributed

\* *Kunstblatt* for May, 1839, s. 167.

† *Handbuch der Gesch. der Malerei*, s. 259.

‡ *England*, ii. s. 64.

to Morales, at Dulwich, looks like Zurbaran's, though rather feeble in the extremities of the figure of Christ\*.

Two or three masters of second-rate merit remain to be noticed, before I pass on to Murillo and Velazquez; and it may be well to refer to them in this place, although they do not belong to the school of Seville. *Eugenio Caxes* was the son of the master who has been already named †, and was born at Madrid in 1577. Philip III. employed him at the Pardo, and he executed various works in the churches of Madrid and Toledo. He died in 1642. A fair specimen of his skill is afforded by the picture in the Madrid Gallery, representing, according to the catalogue, the Attack of the English on Cadiz, in 1625, by the "*Conde de Lest*," which we are informed is "Spanish for Essex; the real leader being Lord Wimbledon." ‡

Another painter of battles was the captain of horse, *Juan de Toledo*, born at Lorca, in 1610, and afterwards established at Granada. He studied under M. Angelo Cerquozzi. Three of his battle-pieces are in the Royal Gallery, and pictures by him of sacred subjects exist in one or two churches at Madrid, as well as at Alcalá and Talavera. He died in 1665.

*Pedro de las Cuevas* was born at Madrid, in 1568, where his school became of some celebrity; but he himself was a disappointed man, having failed in obtaining the post of painter to the king. He died in 1635, at the age of 77.

\* England, ii. s. 193.

† See above, p. 89.

‡ Ford's Hand-book, p. 756.

*Antonio Fernandez Árias* was the pupil of Pedro de las Cuevas. It is said that he painted all the pictures of the principal *retablo* for the "Carmen Calzado" of Toledo, when he was only fourteen years of age! At twenty-five he was a distinguished painter, and was selected by the Count-Duke to execute the portraits of the Kings of Spain in the Old Palace. He died in 1684.

*Antonio Pereda* was born at Valladolid about 1599. He, too, became the pupil of Pedro de las Cuevas, and, like Árias, excited much attention by his proficiency at an early age. When eighteen years old, he painted a Conception which no one would at first believe to be his own work: he thus attracted the notice of the Count-Duke, who employed him in the Buen-retiro. He died in 1669. There are two of his pictures in the Madrid Gallery; one a St. Jerome meditating on the Last Judgment\*. In the collection of Marshal Soult is a Christ asleep on the Cross, with flowers and skulls about him. It is well painted, but fluttering, and not in very good taste. The Esterhazy Gallery, at Vienna, contains a very good picture of St. Anthony and Christ, by this master, and there are three or four of his works in the Munich collection.

Jusepe Leonardo, whom I have already mentioned †, was a fellow-pupil with Pereda in the school of Pedro de las Cuevas. He was born in 1616. It is unfortunate for this artist that the subject of one of his pictures—the Surrender of Breda—provokes a comparison with the glorious work of Velazquez in the same collection.

\* Hand-book, p. 756.

† See above, p. 95.

To avoid all confusion, it may be well to say that there was another painter of the same name as the last—*Fray Agustin Leonardo*. He was a monk in the monastery of Puig, in the kingdom of Valencia, where he painted some large pictures representing the siege of Valencia by Jayme el Conquistador, and other subjects. He also worked at Madrid, at Toledo, and at Seville. The date on one of his pictures was 1624.

*Francisco Collantes*, born at Madrid in 1599, was a pupil of Vincencio Carducho. He is one of the few Spaniards who have painted landscapes; and that he did so with considerable power may be seen in his singular picture of the Vision of Ezekiel, in the Madrid Gallery: the dry bones are becoming instinct with life at the word of the prophet. The artist died in 1656. A landscape, by Collantes, will be found in the Pinacothek at Munich.

*Bartolomé Roman* stood high among his contemporaries, both as to drawing and colour. He was born in 1596, and became the best pupil of Vincencio Carducho. He afterwards passed into the school of Velazquez, but, upon the whole, he had little success as an artist. His death took place in 1659.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### VELAZQUEZ AND MURILLO.

THE originality of an artist or a writer is the quality which perhaps excites the most general admiration, and

which it is at the same time the most difficult properly to appreciate. We understand by this term the opposite to that which is common-place—a power of conception or of expression which presents itself to us as fresh, and exercises all the charm of newness, in addition to its intrinsic excellence. The possession of such a power is by its very nature rare. An original painter or poet teaches us how to derive fresh gratification and instruction from the contemplation of things with which we have long been familiar. The number of objects which present themselves to us is in a certain sense limited; but the points of view in which each may be contemplated are innumerable. If we set two artists to make a sketch of the same building, or the same landscape, each of their drawings may be like nature, but in all probability they will be wholly different one from the other. Both may resemble the original; but the resemblance stamped upon the paper has passed through the medium of the artist's mind, and his conception of the scene before him is what we receive. As Carlyle says, "To Newton, and to Newton's dog, Diamond, what a different pair of universes; while the painting on the optical retina of both was, most likely, the same!"\*

So the stories of gospel history, or of the Old Testament, or of heathen mythology, have been treated over and over again: still original conceptions of their hackneyed scenes have been and are produced by great men. The style of a poet or a painter may, indeed, be founded on the antique; but it does not follow that his conception and exe-

\* French Revolution, i. p. 8.



cution of a subject is not original. Can we doubt the originality of Milton whilst we acknowledge his imitation of ancient models? or do we question the originality of Michael Angelo because he studied each muscle of the Torso? On the contrary, the true originality of genius is more particularly shown under such circumstances: in the hands of an ordinary man the result of such study is servile imitation of the external character; whilst the great master moulds not the marble, but his own mind, according to the type which he has set before him. The one reproduces a more or less imperfect repetition of the individual object, whilst he probably endeavours to conceal the plagiarism by varying the accidents and altering the combinations which surround it; the other creates an instrument which he can apply with fresh force and increased power to every object, however familiar and common-place.

It is difficult to be original under any circumstances; and there is no quality the search for which is more apt to lead its votaries into error and confusion. A large portion of the world are eager to show their appreciation of original genius by hailing as such that which is odd or exaggerated; and there are always artists and authors who, conscious that they cannot profit by the models of established excellence without the risk of servile imitation, burst out into worthless singularity or whimsical caricature.

Some masters stand alone, and strike us as if they might have developed their own genius independently of all that had gone before. Such, perhaps, were Shakspeare in literature, and Rembrandt in painting; but the origin-

ality of many great and profound minds has been shown in the power of assimilation, without sinking into copying, quite as much as in the creation of a new style or character of art. The distinction between original genius and second-rate powers is nowhere more visible. Raphael incorporated in his own works the gentle beauty of the Umbrian school, and the character of the old Christian types: he appropriated the principles of these early masters, and applied them himself to nature; he taught himself to see as they had seen, and he did not by this process stifle the originality of his own genius. On the other hand, we have lately been in the habit of seeing many attempts to reproduce this same early character in art, which have, for the most part, ended in conveying an impression of direct imitation, rather than of original power on the part of the artist. It is easy to pick up the husks, but not so easy to re-create the principle which shall germinate anew, and produce fresh fruit of the same kind.

I have made these observations on the originality of artists for the purpose of enabling the reader to estimate correctly the genius of Velazquez and Murillo. These painters, especially the former, were eminently original, though they appeared after a long line of masters trained under foreign influence, and although they themselves profited largely by the study of the works of others. For the arts of design in Spain were, as we have seen, fostered by foreign instruction.

With regard to Spanish poetry, at the time which is considered as that of its greatest excellence, it bore strong marks of its forced cultivation: but the relics of

earlier days have come down to us, and the poem of the Cid, as well as the older ballads, attest the existence of a national school antecedent to the direct influence of Italian cultivation. This under-current of original and native feeling burst forth again in the works of Cervantes and Calderon.

In painting, the case is unfortunately somewhat different. We have already seen that few or no remains of genuine Spanish art can be produced to prove the existence of an early national school, and we have traced the progress of painting under the direct and visible guidance of Italian examples. Great men, from time to time, show themselves among the crowd of imitators, and stand forth as true Spanish painters, of original power; but the peculiar character of the nation, as well as the greatest excellence in the art itself, was manifested late in the seventeenth century, in the works of Velazquez and Murillo.

I have thought it right to devote a separate chapter to these two masters: their names are for the most part taken as denoting the whole Spanish school: they are its representatives in foreign lands. It is true that of late years, since Spain has been frequently visited, and since the Spanish Museum of the Louvre has been formed, the names of other Spanish artists have become more familiar, and the public know that the works of these two great men do not constitute the whole of Spanish art. Still they are the worthy representatives of their country; taken together, they present to us, in their most perfect form, the true characteristics of the school to which they belong. Viewed in relation to each other,

they are different; but the very differences between two contemporary masters, rich in the same national peculiarities, and nominally, at least, belonging to the same school, afford most instructive matter for reflection and comparison.

*Diego Velazquez de Silva* was the son of Juan Rodriguez de Silva and Gerónima Velazquez, and, therefore, according to Cean Bermudez, he would have been more properly called Diego Rodriguez de Silva y Velazquez. His father's ancestors were Portuguese, but the family had established itself at Seville. The young Velazquez was born in 1599, and baptized in the church of St. Pedro. His disposition for art caused him to be placed in the school of the elder Herrera, whose harshness and ill temper soon became intolerable to his pupil. Herrera's style was rough and bold to an excess, and "the principles of his method and handling are to be traced in all the works of the scholar, improved indeed by a higher quality of touch and intention." \* He transferred himself to the more tranquil household and feebler studio of Pacheco, from whom he had little to learn except empty academical rules and the precepts of the Inquisition. After five years he married Juana, his master's daughter. Pacheco himself gives the following account of the match:—

"Diego de Silva Velazquez, my son-in-law, properly occupies the third place, to whom, after five years of education and instruction, I gave my daughter in marriage, moved by his virtue, his purity, and his good

\* See Mr. Ford's article "Velazquez," in the Penny Cyclopædia.

parts, as well as by the hopes derived from his great natural genius. The honour of being his master is greater than that of being his father-in-law, and therefore it is just to overthrow the boldness of a certain person who wishes to claim this glory, depriving me of the crown of my declining years. I hold it to be no disgrace that the pupil should surpass the master. Leonardo da Vinci did not lose anything by having Raphael for his pupil; nor Giorgione, Titian; nor Plato, Aristotle."\*

In another place Pacheco describes the mode of study pursued by Velazquez †. He says—"He kept in his pay a peasant boy as an apprentice, who served him for a model in different sorts of action and in various attitudes; sometimes laughing, sometimes crying, without avoiding any difficulty whatever. From him he executed many heads in charcoal, heightened with white on blue paper, and many others completely coloured (*naturales*), by which means he acquired his certainty in portraits."

In truth Velazquez was essentially a Naturalist; he acquired facility by painting fruit, fish, and inanimate objects ‡; such pictures, in short, as the Spaniards call "*Bodegones*." The style of Caravaggio and Ribera was that which he first imitated. Two of his pictures of this period may yet be seen: one is the Adoration of the Shepherds, which was formerly in the possession of the

\* Pacheco, p. 101.

† Ibid. p. 437.

‡ See Palomino, iii. p. 479.

Conde de Aguila at Seville, and has been purchased for the Spanish Museum in the Louvre\*; the other is the Water-carrier, called "*El Aguador de Sevilla*," originally in the palace at Madrid, now at Apsley House†. The former picture is hard and powerful: the bend of the hand and arm of the Virgin is angular; the men look like gipsies; but the whole is wonderfully executed. The latter is a magnificent specimen of breadth and force of truth, in which we see distinctly the genius of Velazquez.

When Velazquez was twenty-three years of age the works of Luis Tristan, and of other masters, excited in him a wish to visit Madrid; accordingly, in April, 1622, he left Seville‡. In the capital he was well received by the Sevillians, Don Luis and Don Melchior de Alcazar, as well as by Don Juan de Fonseca, who held an office at court. At the time of this visit he painted a portrait of the poet Gongora at the express request of Pacheco, and then returned home to Seville. In 1623 Fonseca, at the desire of the Count-Duke of Olivarez, summoned him to Madrid: Velazquez obeyed the call, and painted the portrait of his new patron. He then was allowed to paint Philip IV. himself, and his work

\* No. 282; compare *Kunstblatt* for May 23, 1839, No. 42, p. 166; Penny Cyclopædia, art. Velazquez; Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* v. p. 158.

† This picture is especially mentioned by Palomino, iii. p. 479; Cean Bermudez, v. pp. 158. 178: it was etched by Goya; compare Meng's works, London, 1796, ii. p. 83. It has been exhibited this year (1847) at the British Institution.

‡ Palomino, iii. p. 483; Pacheco, p. 101.

gave such satisfaction, that Olivarez is said to have affirmed no artist had really painted the king before. Velazquez also made a sketch of Charles I., who was at Madrid on his mad expedition of wooing the Infanta. This last portrait has unfortunately disappeared\* : the artist received one hundred crowns for it. The greatest attention seems to have been paid to Velazquez : when he was ill, the count-duke sent the king's own physician to visit him† ; he alone enjoyed the privilege of painting his majesty, and obtained the post of "Pintor de Cámara," with a regular salary in addition to the payments for his works‡. Velazquez afterwards painted a grand portrait of Philip on horseback, which elicited all sorts of flattering compliments in verse from the poets of the day. In 1627 he finished a great picture of "the Expulsion of the Moriscos by the pious King Philip III. ; a chastisement well merited by such an infamous and seditious race ; since, faithless to God and to the king, they remained obstinate in the sect of Mahomet, and kept up a secret intelligence with the Turks and Moors of Barbary with a view to a rebellion."

\* Compare Palomino, iii. p. 484 ; Pacheco, p. 102 ; Penny Cyclopædia. I regret to say that I cannot express a belief in the authenticity of the picture exhibited this year (1847) as being the long-lost portrait of Charles I. mentioned in the text. In the first place, it is not, in my opinion, by Velazquez ; in the second, it is a finished picture ; and, in the third, it represents Charles as older than twenty-three years, which was his age when at Madrid.

† Pacheco, p. 102.

‡ Palomino, iii. p. 485.

"D. Diego Velazquez painted this history in competition with three of the king's painters, Eugenio Caxes, Vicencio Carduchi, and Angelo Nardi, and, in the opinion of the persons whom his majesty named to judge, he surpassed them all." \*

His picture was accordingly selected to decorate the palace, and Velazquez was made "Usher of the chamber," with a salary and allowance.

In the month of August, 1628, Rubens visited Spain for the second time †; he remained there nine months. "With painters," says Pacheco, "he had little intercourse; with my son-in-law alone he became a friend (he had corresponded with him before), and showed much favour to his works on account of his modesty: they visited the Escorial together." ‡

In the following year Velazquez obtained the king's permission to visit Italy, and embarked at Barcelona on the 10th of August with the Marquis of Spinola. He proceeded to Venice, where he made some stay. The ambassador lodged him in his house and invited him to his own table: the state of the city was such, that when he went out to see the place he was accompanied by a guard from the embassy §. Palomino tells us that he drew much whilst at Venice, and studied especially the large picture of the Crucifixion in the school of St.

\* Palomino, iii. p. 487; Pacheco, p. 103.

† He had been there before in 1605, on a mission from the Duke of Mantua. The reader will find a notice of Rubens's journeys to Spain in the *Hand-book of the German, Flemish, and Dutch Schools*, p. 236, note.

‡ Pacheco, p. 100.

§ Ibid. p. 103.



Roch, by Tintoret\*. At Ferrara Velazquez was received with honour by the Cardinal Saquete, who had been nuncio in Spain, and he remained there two days: thence he passed through Bologna without stopping, and went on to Rome by Loreto.

Urban VIII. (Barberino) was pope at the time of Velazquez's arrival at Rome. We know that he was far from friendly to the Spanish court, and thwarted its political schemes without scruple: his character was harsh and self-willed†. His reception, however, of Velazquez was most favourable: the painter was lodged in the Vatican, and had unrestrained access to the works of Raphael and M. Angelo, which he studied diligently‡. Afterwards, thinking the Villa Medici on the Trinità dei Monti better adapted to his studies, he got the Conde de Monterey, who was Spanish ambassador, to apply to the Grand Duke of Tuscany for permission to occupy it; this was granted, and Velazquez remained there more than two months. The malaria, however, drove him to the ambassador's house in the Piazza di Spagna, where he received all the attention which the state of his health required.

Velazquez remained a year at Rome, and whilst there executed the two pictures—one of which is now in the Madrid Gallery, and the other at the Escorial—the

\* Palomino, iii. p. 489.

† See Ranke, *Päpste*, ii. s. 542. He is the pope who, when pressed with some old Papal decisions, which were awkward precedents, answered, that "the decree of one living pope was worth more than the opinions of a hundred dead ones."

‡ Pacheco, p. 104.

Forge of Vulcan and the Garment of Joseph shown to Jacob. Mr. Ford thus characterizes them: "In spite of much truth, character, and powerful painting, they are singularly marked with most ordinary forms. The children of Jacob are the kinsmen of the model peasant, and Vulcan is a mere farrier, and his assistants brawny Gallicians. It would seem that the Spaniard, to prove his independence, had lowered his lowest transcript of nature to brave the ideal and divine under the shadow of Raphael himself." \* Certain it is that these pictures show but little trace of the artist's studies in the Vatican, or of the influence of those antique statues which are said to have formed part of his inducement to remove to the Villa Medici †. He also painted a portrait of himself, which Pacheco tells us he possessed.

From Rome Velazquez proceeded to Naples, where he made the acquaintance of Ribera, and executed a portrait of the Queen of Hungary, Mariana, sister of Philip IV. and wife of Ferdinand III. Early in 1631 he returned to Madrid. He found the Count-Duke as much his friend as ever; and, on kissing the king's hand, he thanked him for not having allowed any other painter to take his portrait whilst he was absent.

"It is," Mr. Ford observes, "to the credit of the Austrian dynasty that they relaxed in favour of the fine arts the rigid ceremonial of Spanish etiquette. Charles V. made a friend of Titian, and Philip II. of Herrera the architect." ‡ Velazquez had his studio in the palace, and the king kept a key by means of which he had access

\* Penny Cyclopædia, art. "Velazquez." † See Pacheco, p. 104.

‡ Penny Cyclopædia.

to it when he pleased. Almost every day Philip IV. used to visit the artist, and would sit and watch him whilst at work \*. He bestowed places of profit on the father of Velazquez, as well as posts in the royal household and the chamberlain's key on the painter himself.

"Velazquez now painted the magnificent equestrian portrait of Philip IV., from which the great carver Montañez made a model in wood in order to be sent to Florence, where it was cast in bronze by Pedro Tacca, and now exists in the gardens of the Buen Retiro."† It was for this portrait that the king condescended on one occasion to sit for three hours continuously‡. Another portrait, executed by the artist about this time, was that of the Duke of Modena. He also painted a Christ on the Cross for the convent of St. Placido, of which Palomino especially remarks that the feet are fastened with two nails, in accordance with the opinion of the painter's father-in-law§. This picture is now in the Royal Museum at Madrid.

The celebrated portrait of Adrian Pulido Pareja bore date in the year 1639: this person was a native of Madrid, knight of the order of Santiago and captain-general of the Spanish forces in New Spain. It is said that Philip IV., coming as usual to see the artist at work, started when he saw this portrait, and, addressing himself to it, exclaimed, "What! art thou still

\* Pacheco, p. 105.

† Ford, Penny Cyclopædia. The statue was, in 1844, moved to the *Plaza del Oriente* in Madrid.

‡ Pacheco, p. 105.

§ Palomino, iii. p. 492; see above, p. 19; the number of this picture in the Catalogue is 51.

here? Did I not send thee off? How is it thou art not gone?" But, seeing that the figure did not salute him, the king discovered his mistake, and, turning to Velazquez, said, "I assure you I was deceived." This was probably nothing more than a compliment to the artist.

In 1642 and 1644 Velazquez accompanied Philip on his journeys into Aragon. In 1643 the original patron of the painter, the Count-Duke of Olivares, was disgraced and banished to Toro, which he never left until his remains were transferred to Loeches—the convent decorated at his expense by the pencil of Rubens \*. Velazquez continued to show respect to the fallen favourite; but his own position with the king does not appear to have changed: Philip did not resent his fidelity to his patron.

In November, 1648, the king sent him to Italy with a commission to purchase pictures and statues, as well as to obtain casts of the finest antique works. He embarked at Malaga, and proceeded by Genoa, Milan, and Padua to Venice, where he bought some pictures of Tintoret and of Paul Veronese for his royal master †. From Venice Velazquez went on to Bologna, Parma, and Florence; he did little more than pass through Rome in the first instance, since it was necessary that he should see the viceroy at Naples, where he had the satisfaction of again meeting Ribera. On his return to Rome he executed the glorious portrait of Innocent X.

\* Compare Hand-book of Dutch and Flemish Schools, p. 237, note.

† One of the works of Tintoret was the sketch of his "Gloria" in the Doge's palace at Venice. This sketch is now in the Madrid Gallery, No. 704.

in the Doria Palace, which, Mr. Ford says, is the only real specimen of his art now in Rome\*; although, according to Palomino, he painted a good many other portraits there during this visit †. Velazquez became a member of the Academy of St. Luke in 1650; and in the following year he returned to Spain, carrying with him casts and moulds from many antique statues.

Philip IV. had lost his first wife, Elizabeth of France, and during Velazquez's absence, according to the usual system of the Austrian and Bourbon families for accumulating the stupidity of successive generations, had married his own niece, Mary Anne, daughter of Ferdinand III.

Velazquez, in 1652, received the great court place of *Aposentador Mayor* whose duties were those of providing for the personal accommodation and lodging of the king; duties which Palomino tells us required the whole attention and time of the officer, and which, therefore, were the last that ought to have been imposed on Velazquez ‡: posterity was robbed of immortal works by the demands of court etiquette.

In 1656, however, Velazquez executed that wonderful picture, now in the Royal Gallery at Madrid, to which Luca Giordano is said to have applied the compliment that it was "the Theology of Painting," meaning that,

\* Penny Cyclopædia, art. "Velazquez."

† Palomino, iii. p. 501. He mentions, among others, those of the Cardinal Pamfili and Donna Olimpia, as well as a head of the artist's slave, Juan de Pareja, which, when it was afterwards exhibited, excited the admiration of all painters.

‡ Palomino, iii. p. 506.

as theology was the noblest science, so that picture was the noblest production of the art to which it belonged \*. Of the picture itself I shall speak hereafter; but the story is current that Philip IV. made its completion the occasion of conferring a new and unusual honour on the artist: when he came to see it he took the palette and pencils and painted the cross of Santiago on the breast of Velazquez himself, who is one of the personages in the picture. The artist's pedigree, however, was not such as to enable him to accept the order without a dispensation from the Pope, which was obtained, and followed up by a patent of "*Hidalguia*," so that he was formally invested with the habit on the 28th of November, 1659.

Velazquez left Madrid in March, 1660, to fulfil the duties of his office in preparing for the accommodation of the royal family in their progress to the meeting on the Isle of Pheasants, at which the Infanta, Maria Theresa, was delivered over as the bride of Louis XIV.† The ceremony took place on the 4th of June. It is curious to reflect with what events and what consequences it was pregnant; even the diluvial action of the French Revolution has not destroyed its significance:

\* Palomino, iii. p. 510.

† His name will be found in the list of the royal suite given in the "*Viage del Rey Nuestro Señor Felipe IV. el grande a la frontera de Francia. Funciones Reales del desposorio y entregas de la Serenísima Señora Infante de España Doña Maria Teresa de Austria, &c. &c. &c., en relacion diaria—por mano del Señor Don Pedro Fernandez del Campo y Angulo*," published in 1667. This book contains portraits of the royal personages, and a folding view of the ceremony on the Bidasoa.

we are at this moment discussing the renunciations of the Spanish crown, the treaty of Utrecht, and the Montpensier marriage. The immediate result, however, of the court ceremony with which we are concerned, was the death of Velazquez. He was taken ill on the 31st of July, soon after his return to Madrid, and died of fever on the 7th of August; his widow, Juana Pacheco, survived her husband only seven days, and was buried in the same tomb\*.

There are few men of great genius who have passed through life with such uniform prosperity as Velazquez. The fickleness and envy of a court left him unharmed, and even the wreck of his mighty patron, the Count-Duke, did not diminish his favour with Philip, or lower his position.

Mr. Ford has truly said—"Madrid is the only home of the mighty Andalusian, for here is almost his entire work." "Fortunately for Spain," he continues, "Bonaparte's generals did not quite understand or appreciate his excellence, and few of his pictures were 'transported.' Again, from having been exclusively the court painter, his works were monopolized by his royal patron; and, being in the palace of Joseph, were tolerably respected, even by those who knew their mercantile value. Here, therefore, *alone* is he to be studied in all his Protean variety of power."†

Accordingly the present Catalogue of the Royal

\* Velazquez was buried in the church of S. Juan at Madrid. This church was pulled down by the French in 1811; See Ford's Hand-book, p. 796.

† Hand-book, p. 479.

Gallery at Madrid contains no less than sixty-two pictures by this great master: four only of them represent sacred subjects: one of these is the Crucifixion already alluded to as painted for the nuns of San Plácido; another, far more remarkable, is the picture of St. Paul the Hermit and St. Antony fed by a raven in the Desert, in the background the two lions are excavating the grave of Paul, whilst Antony is praying over the body\*. The execution of this work is magnificent; Wilkie says—"Velazquez, a surprising fellow! The Hermit in a Rocky Desert pleased me much; also a Dark Wood at Nightfall."†

Among the works of Velazquez, at Madrid, there are eight landscapes, exclusive of the picture last referred to; one of them is a view of the Arch of Titus at Rome (No. 118); another is a beautiful sketch in the garden of Aranjuez. In fact, as the author of the Hand-book observes, "Velazquez was equally great in portraits, history, *sujets de genre*, and landscape."‡ Wilkie remarks, "Velazquez is the only Spanish painter who seems to have made an attempt in landscape: I have seen some of his most original and daring. Titian seems to be his model; and, although he lived before the time of Claude and Salvator Rosa§, he appears to have combined the breadth and picturesque effect for

\* The reader may readily turn to this and many other legends of Christian mythology in Lord Lindsay's interesting *Sketches of Christian Art*. See i. p. 114.

† Wilkie's *Life*, ii. p. 436; compare Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 750.

‡ *Hand-book*, p. 749.

§ Strictly speaking, they were contemporaries, though they both outlived Velazquez. The latter died, as we have seen, in 1660; Claude died, a very old man, in 1682, and Salvator in 1673.



which these two great painters are remarkable."\* Again, in writing to Collins, "Much as I might learn from Spain and from her arts, you, as a landscape painter, could learn but little, excepting only from some works of Velazquez who, in landscape, is a brilliant exception to the Spanish school. Of him I saw a large landscape at Madrid that for breadth and richness I have seldom seen equalled. Titian seemed his model; and I could venture to fancy that in it Sir George Beaumont and Sir Joshua would have recognised their beau ideal of landscape. It was too abstract to have much detail or imitation; but it had the very same sun we see, and the air we breathe—the very soul and spirit of nature."† I imagine that in this passage Wilkie refers to the picture of St. Paul the Hermit and St. Antony in the Desert; but some of the smaller landscapes of Velazquez are as brilliant and powerful as ever were painted.

If we pass now to those pictures which may be called historical, perhaps the *chef d'œuvre* of the master is the Surrender of Breda by the Governor, Justin of Nassau, to Spinola. The feeling and expression of the figures is as wonderful as the technical execution. There is the genuine courtesy of a high-bred soldier in the demeanour of the conqueror towards his fallen foe, and the whole composition is admirable.

The quiet repose of the picture already mentioned, and which passes under the name of "*las Meninas*," forms an admirable contrast with the subject and feeling of the Surrender of Breda:—"The scene of the former represents the dull Infanta Margarita, who is tried to be amused by her page, while her two dwarfs worry a

\* Life of Wilkie, ii. p. 519.

† Ibid. ii. p. 524.

patient dog, which is painted finer than a *Snyders*.\* One of the ladies is offering a cup of water to the *Infanta*, who is "mealy-faced and uninteresting;" on the left stands *Velazquez* at his easel; in the background is a mirror and an open door which admits the light, and gives to the whole a general effect of truth and air such as no Dutch painter ever surpassed. The tone of colouring is sober and cool, perhaps too much so. *Wilkie* truly says—"He (*Velazquez*) is *Teniers* on a large scale; his handling is of the most sparkling kind, owing much of its dazzling effect to the flatness of the ground it is placed upon. The picture of children in grotesque dresses, in his painting-room,"—the one which we are now considering,—“is a surprising piece of handling; still he would gain, and indeed does gain, when he glazes his pictures.”† Captain *Widdrington* tells us that he saw in private hands at Madrid a painting by *Velazquez* of the female dwarf (whose name was *Mari Barbola*) represented naked as *Silenus*; and according to him “the result of this curious fancy is one of the very finest works of the master, certainly equal to any, and superior to most of the productions from his easel.”‡

The “*Bebedores*,” or drinkers, is another of the master’s finest works. The humour and feeling is only surpassed by the execution, which in details, such as the bowl of wine, is most marvellous. At the same

\* Hand-book, p. 751. The word “*meninas*” means young ladies of high birth, attached to the court as maids of honour, just as the sons of the nobility were as pages.

† *Wilkie’s Life*, ii. p. 486.

‡ *Widdrington’s Spain* in 1843, ii. p. 19.

time, the whole picture has the force and breadth of Caravaggio or Ribera\*.

The number of portraits by Velazquez in the Royal Collection is between forty and fifty, of which seven or eight represent Philip IV. ; and many others are those of persons of his family and court. It is scarcely necessary to discuss the merits of Velazquez as a portrait painter ; in this capacity he is universally known and his excellence universally acknowledged. He stands on the same level as Vandyke and Titian ; but to me his figures have greater reality than most of the portraits executed by either of these masters, though he often falls short of the elegance of Vandyke, and is inferior in brilliancy and colour to Titian. There is nothing conventional about the portraits of Velazquez ; every touch has meaning, and the effect of the whole is that of nature seen through the clearest medium ; at the same time all is handled in such a manner as to make a perfect work of art. The feeling and the spirit of his subject are admirably conceived and perfectly expressed ; disagreeable qualities or features, such as the heavy and stupid look of the Austrian race, or even the deformity of his dwarfs, are made consistent with dignity, or are softened by their treatment in the picture. Wilkie thus expresses himself in his journal : " Velazquez may be said to be the origin of what is now doing in England. His feeling they have caught almost without seeing his works, which here seem to anticipate Reynolds, Romney, Raeburn,

\* Mons<sup>r</sup>. Viardot says that Wilkie used to sit every day three hours before this picture. *Les Musées d'Espagne, d'Angleterre, et de Belgique*, 1843, p. 132.

Jackson, and even Sir Thomas Lawrence. Perhaps there is this difference: he does at once what we do by repeated and repeated touches. It may truly be said, that wheresoever Velazquez is admired, the paintings of England must be acknowledged and admired with him.\* Again, in writing to Phillips, he says, "There is much resemblance between Velazquez and the works of some of the chiefs of the English school; but, of all, Raeburn resembles him most, in whose square touch in heads, hands, and accessories I see the very counterpart in the Spaniard. It is true this master is one that every true painter must in his heart admire; he is as fine in some instances in colour as Titian; but, to me, this is his weak point, being most frequently cold, black, and without transparency. For handling no one surpasses him; but in colour Reynolds is much beyond him, and so is Murillo."†

\* Life of Wilkie, ii. p. 486.

† Life of Wilkie, ii. p. 504. If I may venture to say so, I think the defects in the colour of Velazquez are somewhat over-stated in the passage quoted in the text. We are told by Mr. Buchanan—"M. Hacquin observed that Velazquez and Murillo have painted their pictures upon the red earthy preparations with which the Spanish canvas has almost uniformly been charged, and which hides their first process. Velazquez, who was aware of these red grounds rendering the shadows too opaque, has often introduced a light colour over them before he began to paint, so as that the ground which came in immediate contact with the picture should not destroy the transparency of his colours, which are always light and brilliant, especially in the flesh and in his skies and landscapes." Buchanan's *Memoirs*, i. p. 342. Mr. Eastlake observes—"It matters not whether the internal brightness reside in the light ground, or whether it be reproduced at any stage of the work. A preparation of the latter description, answering the same end as the white panel, may consist in a light but very solid painting by means of which the composition may be de-

I have quoted these passages here, because they refer to Velazquez mainly in his character of a portrait painter, and because they are most interesting in themselves, since they convey to us the impression made by his works on the mind of such an artist as Wilkie.

It has been already stated that the first manner of Velazquez was hard and precise; in time he became convinced that the outlines of objects are not really impressed on the eye with such precision, and that the effect of atmosphere is, in some degree, to make them indistinct. He thus ceased to paint objects as he knew them to be, rather than as they appeared, and hence in part his resemblance to the English school. This principle has its perils as well as its advantages, and to it may be traced many of the defects which have characterized our own artists. The execution of Velazquez in his later manner was such, that Mengs truly observed, his hand seems to have taken no part whatever in the production of the work; the whole appears to have been created by the mere effect of volition\*.

If we pass from the gallery at Madrid to the Spanish collection at Paris, we shall there find nineteen pictures which bear the name of Velazquez, besides a portrait of the Infanta Margarita in the Gallery of the Louvre. First in the list is the Nativity formerly belonging to the Conde de Aguila, and already mentioned as one of the painter's earliest works; there is also a sketch for the picture of St. Paul the Hermit and St. Antony, as

finied; and, when such a preparation is thickly painted, the colour of the ground underneath it is obviously unimportant.—Materials for a History of Oil Painting, p. 406.

\* Kunstblatt, for 1839, No. 40, s. 158.

well as a view of the Escorial and of the Alameda at Seville. The writer in the *Kunstblatt* justly considers, however, that the greater part of the nineteen pictures in question are not genuine\*. He appears to admire especially the portrait of the Count-Duke (No. 291); that of Philip IV. he treats as more doubtful. Another, which he selects as certainly genuine and very fine, is the portrait of Doña Juana Eminente (No. 298)†. "The eyes," he says, "of this charming Spaniard do not *look*, they *speak*; the model of her head is wonderfully beautiful: it is a glorious countenance with a most seducing mouth, and a still more seducing smile playing around it." He also speaks of the head of an Inquisitor (No. 294) as thrown off with all the boldness and certainty which characterize the hand of a master. The Infanta Margarita, in the old gallery of the Louvre, is painted in the clear cool tones of the master, and is very fine‡. In the Pinacothek at Munich are seven pictures bearing the name of Velazquez; and in the collection of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, one. Of the former, two at least, that is to say the Beggar (No. 371) and the Flight of Lot from Sodom (No. 392 a.), are not genuine works of the painter.

The pictures of Velazquez in this country are probably more numerous and fine than in any country except Spain. The Marquis of Lansdowne has a portrait of the Count-Duke and another of the artist himself, as well as a very striking picture of a royal infant in the cradle; the two former came from the collection of the

\* *Kunstblatt* for 1839, No. 40, s. 153.

† *Kunstblatt* for 1839, No. 42, s. 166.

‡ Waagen's *Paris*, s. 634.

Prince of the Peace, and were imported by Mr. Buchanan in 1813 \*. Mr. Buchanan states that he also brought over the Venus and Cupid which the Duke of Alba employed Velazquez to paint as a companion to a Titian, as well as a set of six small pictures representing the various dances of the Spanish peasantry; these he says were sold in England and passed into several collections. Where they now are I do not know; it may be doubtful whether they were by Velazquez.

Wilkie, in writing to Mr. Wilson, in 1829 (after his visit to Spain), speaks thus of a picture at Edinburgh:—"The most striking picture I have seen in Edinburgh is Mr. Gordon's Velazquez. The head and hands of this are very fine, more complete, and having more tone than the same picture in the Doria †. It is satisfactory to think that one Velazquez, of the finest quality, has been secured for the National Gallery in this country—I mean the Boar Hunt formerly belonging to Lord Cowley, to whom it was presented by Ferdinand VII. Whatever injury this picture has sustained in cleaning was inflicted upon it before it came into Mr. Eastlake's custody, and no one can look at it without feeling that its beauty and freshness are really unimpaired. The picture is one of that class which is rarely seen out of Spain, and which is interesting no less from the sparkling brilliancy of its execution and its

\* *Memoirs*, ii. pp. 244. 246. Compare Waagen, *England*, ii. s. 77; *Mrs. Jameson's Private Galleries*, p. 312.

† *Wilkie's Life*, iii. p. 24; compare *Buchanan's Memoirs*, i. p. 147. I believe the collection of which this picture formed a part is now dispersed, and I do not know where it is.

masterly handling, than for the truth and life with which the groups in the foreground reproduce the court and people of the time of Philip IV.\* Lord Ashburton is the fortunate possessor of a picture of a similar subject and of the same character. With regard to the other Velazquez in the National Gallery which came from Mr. Angerstein's collection, little need be said; it does not appear to me to possess any one quality characteristic of the painter. Another very doubtful work is the Conversion of St. Paul, in the Dulwich Gallery; this collection, however, contains a portrait of Philip IV., the head of a boy, and a small picture of Don Baltasar Carlos on horseback†. At Hampton Court are the portraits of Philip IV. and his Queen, Isabel de Borbon—sister of Henrietta Maria. With regard to the portraits of Don Baltasar Carlos nothing can exceed the beauty of Mr. Rogers's small picture of the same subject. Another of great power is in the Grosvenor Gallery. The former of the two has the background (a court and buildings) left unfinished‡. The Marquis of Westminster possesses also a portrait of Velazquez by himself; another such portrait is in the Bridgewater collection, together with a small picture of Philip IV., and of a natural son of the Count-Duke: this last came from the gallery of the Count of Altamira§. The Duke of Sutherland's collection professes to contain a landscape

\* I rather think Lord de Grey has a small picture containing one of the best of these groups—that of the priest and the two cavaliers.

† See Mrs. Jameson's *Public Galleries*, ii. p. 293; compare Waagen's *England*, ii. s. 192.

‡ Mrs. Jameson's *Private Galleries*, p. 262—404.

§ *Ibid.* p. 131; compare Waagen's *England*, i. s. 335.



and a picture representing the Reception of the Duke of Gandia (afterwards St. Francis Borgia) into the Jesuit College; purchased, I believe, from the Duke of Dalmatia \*. Mr. Hope had a picture of Lot and his Daughters from the Orleans Gallery, which was sold at his sale in 1816 †.

I have already spoken of the *Aguador de Sevilla* at Apsley House; in the same gallery will be found a portrait of Innocent X. and another of the painter himself ‡. Sir Thomas Baring had an exceedingly fine portrait of a Spanish officer §. The Finding of Moses, which bore the name of Velazquez, in the Orleans Gallery, is now at Castle Howard, and is attributed by Waagen to Gerard Honthorst ||, who ascribes to the Spanish painter a portrait of two children, passing in the same collection under the name of Coreggio.

At Woburn there is a magnificent portrait of Adrian Pulido Pareja, which was exhibited last year (1846) in the British Institution, and which is life-like enough to justify the story told above of Philip IV. Another full-length of the same individual is at Lord Radnor's at Longford Castle; both these have the name of the per-

\* Mrs. Jameson's Private Galleries, p. 201.

† Buchanan's Memoirs, i. p. 146.

‡ Waagen's England, ii. s. 110. Another portrait of Innocent X. was at Luton.

§ Ibid. ii. s. 252; compare Buchanan's Memoirs, ii. p. 255; it came from Le Brun's collection, and is, I rather think, now in that of Mr. Holford.

|| Ibid. ii. pp. 408. 414. This, if Waagen is right, is one of the most singular misnomers on record. Mr. Buchanan (Memoirs, i. p. 146) treats it as a Velazquez. It was purchased for five hundred guineas.

son whom they represent upon the picture; but I cannot learn that either of them has the inscription which Palomino says was painted on the picture belonging to the Duke of Arcos. This was, according to him, one of the very few pictures to which Velazquez put his name\*. Lord Radnor has also a portrait which is said to be that of Velazquez's slave, Juan de Pareja; it may possibly be the one which the artist painted at Rome, and which has been already mentioned. Mr. Miles of Leigh Court has a picture of the Virgin kneeling with outspread arms, of which Waagen speaks very highly, but says that the tone of the flesh is less clear than that of his portraits†. In the same collection is a portrait of Philip IV.

I now turn to the great contemporary of Velazquez—*Bartolomé Estéban Murillo*‡. He was the son of Gaspar Estéban Murillo and Maria Perez, and, accord-

\* The inscription, as given by Palomino, was, "Didacus Velazquez fecit. Philip IV. à cubiculo, ejusque pictor, anno 1639." On the picture at Woburn is, "Adrian Pulido Pareja, Capitan General de la Armada flota de Nueva España. Fallara (falleció ?) en la Ciudad de la Nueva Vera Cruz, año. 1660." The picture at Longford Castle has the name "Adrian Pulido Pareja." Compare Palomino, iii. p. 492; Kunstblatt for 1839, No. 40, s. 157. With reference to the picture at Longford Castle, see Waagen's England, ii. s. 268, who calls it "a first-rate portrait in the force of its conception and the masterly boldness of its execution, notwithstanding the care with which the details are painted." The Duke of Bedford's picture is, in like manner, a most striking one, and Velazquez in all probability painted three originals.

† Waagen's England, ii. ss. 346, 347.

‡ It appears that Estéban was a surname; at least the ancestors of Murillo all bore it. Accordingly in the dictionary of Cean Bermudez the artist will be found under the letter E.

ing to Palomino, was born at Pilas; but his register of baptism proves that he was baptized in St<sup>a</sup>. Maria Magdalena at Seville on the 1st of January, 1616. Palomino's error may have originated in the fact that Murillo's wife came from Pilas, and that he possessed some property there\*.

Murillo's father placed him in the studio of his relative Juan de Castillo. Castillo removed to Cadiz, and Murillo remained in his native town, painting for the dealers in the *Feria* or public market of Seville. It seems probable that the rapid execution required for such works as these may have laid the foundation for that freedom of touch which afterwards characterized this master, and which is valueless unless it become the exponent of higher qualities.

With reference to the works executed at this time I may quote the following account†:—"When Cean Bermudez wrote, there were three of his pictures of this period still well known in his native city. The earliest perhaps is that which then was in the cloister of the convent of La Regina, but which is now (1833) to be found in the collection of the Prebendary Pereira. It represents the Virgin and St. Francis with several monks; to our eyes this picture is flat, and presents little or no promise of the artist's future excellence. The next, which may be referred to very nearly the

\* I assume that the certificate of *baptism* proved that the artist was *born* at Seville, since Cean Bermudez clearly implies that it did so, although he says only that it showed where he was baptized.

† *Foreign Quarterly*, No. xxvi. p. 266; the article was written by the author when his recollections of Seville were fresh and unimpaired.

same time, is a Virgin, Monk, and Angels, in a chapel of the College of Santo Tomas. In the angels' heads Murillo has evidently imitated Rocas, and there are about some of them glimpses of his later style. The face of the Virgin is very beautiful, and her drapery, though rather angular in its folds, well painted. The picture is signed 'Bar<sup>mous</sup> Murillo,' and the capital M is of a peculiar form, the right-hand line being prolonged into a sort of loop. Another painting, in the possession of Mr. Williams, has the same peculiarity. What has become of the third of the early Murillos mentioned by Cean Bermudez—whether it was consumed by the fire in the cloister of San Francisco, or carried off by the French—we have not yet discovered. The same convent still possesses in the sacristy a whole-length portrait of Archbishop Urbina, of nearly as early a date. It is executed in a dry style, but the head has considerable merit. Two more pictures, painted probably about the same time, are to be seen in a very bad state in a dark corner of the cloister of San Juan de Dios.

"Murillo evidently saw the defects of his first master, and aspired to something better; the great works of Zurbaran and Roelas were before his eyes; and the fact that he imitated them both is clear, as for instance in the very beautiful picture of Christ between the Virgin and St. Joseph, in the hands of Mr. Williams. This gentleman had at that time also, besides several first-rate specimens in the artist's best manner, five landscapes—a St. Diego bearing the Cross, and a St. Francis on his Knees, all executed in his early style. In the last-named picture the background closely resembles the tone of that in

many of his more mature productions, and the same remark will apply to a St. Francis of the Prebendary Pereira."

Where these early specimens of the great master now are, I do not know; they were all more interesting as affording a means of tracing his progress to excellence, than on account of their intrinsic merits.

The house in which Murillo lived in his latter years was in the Juderia, or Jews' quarter: "It is close to the city wall, the last to the right in a small *plaza* at the end of the *Callejuela del Agua*. His painting-room, nay living-room, for he lived to paint, was in the upper floor, and as cheerful as his works."\* \*

Before Murillo was twenty-four years of age, Pedro de Moya, who had been his fellow pupil in the school of Castillo, returned to Seville. This artist, as has been already stated, had attached himself to Vandyck; his style, as derived from that great man, excited a strong wish on the part of Murillo to travel in Italy, but his poverty prevented his taking any such step. He is said to have purchased a quantity of canvas and to have painted a number of pictures for the market of the Indies, which were bought by the traders, and exposed for sale accordingly. With the money thus acquired he went to Madrid in 1643; there he presented himself to Velazquez, who took him by the hand, and obtained for him permission to copy the pictures of Titian, Rubens, Vandyck and others, which were to be found in the Capital and at the Escorial. Velazquez, probably, little thought that the needy young man, whom he then pa-

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 260.

tronized, was destined to acquire a name and to execute works which would be more popular and more widely known than his own.

This was the turning point in the life of Murillo; the mere reflection of the style of Vandyck had awakened the consciousness of his own powers. His visit to Madrid afforded him the opportunity of more extended study, and he returned to Seville, in 1645, ready for the execution of great works. His career, as an artist, may be said to have begun from this time.

In the following year he painted the series of pictures formerly in the cloisters of San Francisco; these were in the first of the three styles which are usually distinguished in his works—that, namely, in which the outline was decided if not hard, and in which the tone of the shadows and the treatment of the lights remind us of Zurbaran or Caravaggio. The cloisters were burnt in 1810, but many of the Murillos are to be seen in the Duke of Dalmatia's collection. One of these is the picture which represents a saint in the kitchen of his convent, with angels round him; in another, some monks appear to be pointing out a flame to a man on his knees; in a third, a saint kneels in the street before a man in a brown dress; and a fourth is that in which some follower holds the saint's girdle. I presume, also, that the St. Clara, formerly in the Aguado Collection (No. 100), belonged to the same series.

In these works Murillo seems to have burst upon Seville as a great painter whose existence was hardly suspected before; commissions flowed in upon him, and he was soon in a position to marry Doña Beatriz de

Cabrera y Sotomayor, a person of some consideration at Pilas. This marriage took place in 1648; and about the same time the painter changed his style by adopting a softer outline and a more mellow colouring, such as we find characterize some of his best works. In this style are the fine St. Leander and St. Isidore in the sacristy of the cathedral of Seville; they were painted in 1655\* on the commission of D. Juan Federigui of Carmona, who presented them to the chapter; both the figures are portraits. In 1656 Murillo executed the celebrated St. Antony of Padua receiving the Infant Christ, which is still in the cathedral †. "In 1833," according to Mr. Ford, who saw it done, "it was cruelly retouched, and *bañado* or completely daubed over by Gutierrez; Captain Widdrington gives a different account, and maintains that it is uninjured. He adds that "he has always gone away from the picture, not only in admiration, but in the greatest doubt whether it be not the first picture in the world." With all possible admiration of Murillo, I consider this praise to be greatly exaggerated. Wilkie, in 1828, distinctly states that it disappointed him ‡.

The admirable pictures formerly in Santa Maria la Blanca, at Seville, were painted in 1665; a Last Supper alone now remains in the church, and this, according

\* Hand-book, p. 255.

† The contrast between Murillo the pupil of Castillo, and Murillo the painter of the pictures in the Claustro Chico and in the cathedral, is well illustrated by the story, which I have already quoted, of Antonio Castillo y Saavedra—see p. 110.

‡ Ford's Hand-book, p. 256; compare Life of Wilkie, ii. p. 515; Widdrington's Spain in 1843, i. p. 246; Palomino, iii. p. 624.

to Cean Bermudez, would appear to be a doubtful work\*. The principal pictures carried off were four half circles, the two larger of which are at Madrid. They were taken by Soult, carried to Paris, and brought back to Madrid with the Santa Isabel, which now hangs in the same room with them in the Royal Academy. The subject of the pictures is the vision of a Roman Patrician, which led to the building of S<sup>ta</sup>. Maria Maggiore, and the narrating of that vision to the Pope: in the latter picture the distant procession has been especially admired. Notwithstanding some cleaning, some retouching and additions in the angles, these works give as high an opinion of Murillo as any thing can do†. The spaces which they formerly occupied still stand blank in the church to which they belonged; what became of the two smaller ones, which were carried off by the French, I do not know.

Even at Seville, however, the Capuchin convent was formerly pre-eminent in the number and excellence of the productions of Murillo which it displayed; almost all of these were of his best time. In a letter to Prince Dologorouki, dated April 14, 1828, Wilkie speaks of them as follows:—

“The Capuchin convent contains about fifteen [seventeen] of his productions: it had more once. They are painted in a slighter manner than any of his pictures I had before seen. The St. Francis with the Infant Christ in his arms; the S<sup>to</sup>. Tomas giving Charity, with two Doctors and two female Saints of the

\* Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* ii. p. 59.

† See Ford's *Hand-book*, pp. 269-736.



Church, are the finest. In colour they are all of a raw character, scarcely glazed at all; but a small picture over the altar, a Virgin and Child, in his rudest *velature*, triumphs over every one. These pictures were during the late war preserved to the convent, less by a miracle than by human foresight. The Capuchins, who were uncharitable enough to suspect the rapacity of the French Marshal, had them packed off to Cadiz, where they lay safe during the occupation of Seville, and were afterwards safely restored to their places without either the glory or the risk of a march to Paris\*.

These pictures are now in the Museum at Seville†,

\* Life of Wilkie, ii. p. 514.

† I cannot forbear quoting Madame Hahn-Hahn's reflections on the Museum of Seville, and the custody of pictures in that city in 1841.

"It is wretched to see how these invaluable jewels of pictures are preserved! Uncleaned" (this is at least some comfort), "without the necessary varnish, sometimes without frames, they lean against the walls, or stand unprotected in the passages where they are copied. Every dauber may mark his squares upon them, to facilitate his drawing; and since these squares are permanent in some pictures in order to spare these admirable artists the trouble of renewing them, the threads have, in certain cases, begun to leave their impression on the picture. The proof of this negligence is the fact that we found to-day the mark of a finger-nail on the St. Augustine, which was not there on the first day that we saw it. We can only thank God if nothing worse than a finger-nail make a scar on the picture! It stands there on the ground, without a frame, leaning against the wall. One might knock it over, or kick one's foot through it! There is to be sure a kind of ragged custode sitting by, but if one were to give him a couple of dollars he would hold his tongue; he is, moreover, always sleeping, and yawns as if he would put his jaws out. He does not forget, however, on these occasions to make the sign of the cross with his thumb opposite his open mouth, for fear the devils should fly in—such is the common belief. You see clearly that with this amount of neglect and want of

where, as Mr. Ford says, "although the light is better than that of their original positions, yet they lose something by the change. Murillo, in designing them, calculated exactly for each locality, and painted up to the actual light and point of view; and we miss the Capuchino cicerone who seemed to have stepped out of one of the pictures to tell us where Murillo went for a model, and how true his portrait". With this passage I fully sympathize, though I have never seen the pictures where they now hang; it is something to have been in Spain before the character of the land was destroyed by the abolition of monks and the substitution

order, the same fate awaits all the Murillos here as has already befallen Leonardo's Last Supper, at Milan. These are all collected in two public buildings, in the church of the Caridad and in the Museum.

The Caridad was a hospital or charitable institution. The pictures were brought thither from Murillo's own studio; there are five:—Moses, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, the St. Juan de Dios, a little Salvador Mundi, and a small John the Baptist; the sixth, the pendant to the St. Juan de Dios, the St. Elizabeth with the Sick, has been carried to the Museum at Madrid. It is very questionable whether these fine pictures will be still in the Caridad in ten years' time. Nothing would be easier than to smuggle out the two small pictures! A painter comes—copies them—does not stand upon a few dollars more or less—takes off the originals and leaves the copies behind in their places, which are high up and badly lighted—the pictures are gone for ever! This sort of proceeding is not impossible here, and Baron Taylor's purchases for Paris prove the fact. It cannot of course be done without corruption and connivance on the part of the official guardians; and after all one has hardly the courage to lament it. The pictures are, in fact, saved—they are protected and duly valued; whilst to me it is completely a matter of indifference whether a custode, on account of this sort of sin, suffer a little more or a little less in Purgatory."—*Reisebriefe*, ii. s. 126-8.

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 264.

of bonnets for mantillas. One of the finest of these works is that mentioned by Wilkie, the St. Thomas of Villanueva distributing alms to the poor: in the saint's face and figure there is a wonderful union of dignity and humility, whilst the beggars in the front are admirable for truth and expression, as for instance the boy on the left showing to his mother the money which he has received\*. The next picture, as they hung in their old places, was that of St. Felix Cantalicio holding the infant Christ in his arms, and looking up to the Virgin from whom he has received him. The delicate execution and colour of this great work, and the beauty of the Virgin's figure, make it, perhaps, superior to any other of the series; certainly, in my opinion, superior to the St. Antony in the cathedral. With regard to the St. Leander and St. Buenaventura (the two Doctors of the Church of Wilkie) Mr. Ford tells us to "observe the peeping Coreggiesque boy."†

The Santa Justa and Rufina is a beautiful picture. I conceive that the Virgin and Child, alluded to by Wilkie in the passage quoted above, was that which was called *La Servilleta*, because it was said to have been painted on a dinner napkin; there was also a very fine Conception.

"La Caridad" is a hospital dedicated to St. George, and situated outside the walls of Seville. Murillo's

\* I find that this boy particularly attracted Madame Hahn-Hahn's attention as well as mine. "On the right of the Bishop a woman sits on the ground, whose child throws himself exulting into her arms, whilst he shows her the money he has just received, and she looks at the child as lovingly and as cheerfully as if she were not a poor beggar-woman."—*Reisebriefe*, ii. s. 132.

† Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 265.

great pictures for this establishment were painted between 1660 and 1674. Of these Marshal Soult carried off four: that is to say, Abraham receiving the Angels, the Prodigal son, St. Peter and the Angel, and the Pool of Bethesda. The two first of these he has since sold to the Duke of Sutherland. Wilkie says, "They are light pictures compared with the series they belonged to in the "Caridad;" have skies for back-grounds; still, the Return of the prodigal son is an impressive picture, having this quality of simple homeliness in common with many of the figures of Raphael and of Rembrandt, that they seem as if speaking the very language of Scripture\*. The Pool of Bethesda is perhaps the finest of the whole: the Duke of Dalmatia has just sold it to Mr. Tomline, an English amateur, as it is said, for 160,000 francs.

The works of Murillo still remaining in the "Caridad" are, "an Infant Saviour, on panel, and injured; a St. John, rich and brown;"† St. Juan de Dios assisted by an Angel in carrying a sick man; the Distribution of the loaves and fishes; and the Moses striking the rock. "The latter painting affords the best evidence how nobly Murillo could handle a large subject. It is admirably composed; for whilst the fine dark mass of the rock, and Moses standing beside it, form a sort of focus, the groups to the right and left make up the whole, and by their details tell the story of previous suffering, and miraculous relief, with the greatest truth and feeling."‡

\* Life of Wilkie, iii. p. 117.

† Ford's Hand-book, p. 263.

‡ Foreign Quarterly Review for 1834, No. xxvi. p. 263.

These pictures do not seem to have struck Wilkie so much as some others. He says, "There are left his two great works, Moses striking the rock, and Jesus feeding the multitude. Considering their great reputation, perhaps these pictures would at first disappoint you; they are far from the eye, badly lighted, and much sunk in their shadows, and have, in consequence, a grey negative effect. The choice of colours in the Moses is poor, and the chief figure wants relief. The great merit of the work lies in the appearance of nature and truth which he has given to the wandering descendants of Israel."\* Wilkie goes on to say, with perfect justice, "One other picture here, of San Juan de Dios with an Angel, is, in composition and colour, one of the finest examples of Murillo."

I confess that to me the picture never restored to the "Caridad," and now in the Academy at Madrid, is superior to any of those still remaining in their original places—except, perhaps, the San Juan de Dios. This picture represents Sta. Isabel of Hungary † washing and applying remedies to lepers and poor persons assembled round her. Nothing can be conceived more beautiful and more dignified than the figure of St. Elizabeth herself,

\* Life of Wilkie, ii. p. 515.

† The subject would suit either Sta. Isabel (Elizabeth) of Hungary, or Sta. Isabel of Portugal. Palomino (iii. p. 624) says it is the former: Cean Bermudez the latter. St. Elizabeth of Hungary is the best known of the two, and more usually represented as occupied in this manner. Sta. Isabel of Portugal came of the great Hohenstaufen stock, being the daughter of Constance, wife of Peter of Aragon, and consequently grand-daughter of Manfred, and great-grand-daughter of the Emperor Frederic II.

and these qualities in her figure are brought out in full force by the contrast with the diseased beggars grouped round her, and painted with such wonderful truth as to be almost disgusting. The picture bears the name of "*El Tiñoso*," from the boy with a scald-head to whom the saint is more immediately attending.

The S<sup>ta</sup>. Isabel, like the St. Thomas of Villanueva, formerly in the Capuchins, presents us with the artist's studies of street-nature in full vigour: Murillo has here used the beggar-boys and vagabonds of Seville as accessories; in the pictures bearing his name out of Spain they often form the whole *dramatis personæ*. It is probable that many of these latter pictures are the works of his followers, Tobar, Meneses, or Villavicencio; but some, such as the beautiful one with the fruit at Munich (No. 375), are, without doubt, genuine. The taste, indeed, for this peculiar class must have begun early: Evelyn in his diary (April 21, 1690), tells us that, at the sale of the effects of Lord Melford at Whitehall, "Lord Godolphin bought the picture of the Boys by Morillio, the Spaniard, for eighty guineas—deare enough."

The pictures in the chapter-house of the cathedral of Seville were executed in 1667 and 1668; they are not equal in quality either to those in the "*Caridad*" or to those from the Capuchins. Murillo went to Cadiz to paint the large picture of the Espousals of St. Catharine over the high altar of the Capuchins in that city. Whilst engaged in the execution of it he had a fall from the scaffold, and was in consequence obliged to return to Seville. Here he lingered, getting gradually worse,

until, on the 3rd of April, 1682, he died in the arms of his friend and pupil, Pedro Nuñez de Villavicencio. The altar-piece at Cadiz was finished by Meneses. Murillo left two sons—Gabriel, who was absent in America, and Gaspar, an artist, but who at the time of his father's death was in the lesser orders; a daughter of the painter was a nun in the convent of *Madre de Dios* at Seville. Murillo was buried in the parish church of S<sup>ta</sup>. Cruz, in front of the Descent from the Cross of Pedro Campaña: the church was pulled down by the French, "who scattered his bones." \*

Many of the most celebrated works of Murillo have been considered whilst narrating his life, and of those in private collections at Seville so many have changed hands, that it only remains to advert to the principal collections elsewhere in which specimens may be found. The Royal Gallery at Madrid, as the author saw it in 1833, did not contain any pictures equal to the first-rate works in his native city, or to the three great pictures in the Academy of the capital. In the Holy Family (No. 43), in which the child is playing with a dog, the head of the Virgin is very beautiful; but the expression of the child is purely human. The little dog and bird would probably have offended Pacheco's ideas of decorum, nor can we readily admit the propriety of another picture in the same gallery, which the reader will find described by Captain Widdrington †.

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 260.

† Spain in 1843, i. p. 31; No. 315 in the Catalogue. Captain Widdrington calls the saint "*St. Bernabe*, a monk;" he is receiving into his mouth the milk from the Virgin's bosom. The legend, how-

Mr. Ford tells us to observe particularly the "*Portiuncula*," "a large picture which *once* was by Murillo. As it is advantageously hung it is still very striking; its history may be useful to those about to purchase '*undoubted originals*' in Spain. It formerly belonged to the Capuchinos at Seville, whose stupid monks exchanged it for some modern daubs to fill their cloisters, with one Bejarano, a bungling picture-restorer. Although much injured from exposure to sun and air, the surface was then pure: Bejarano began by painting it all over, and then offered it to Mr. Williams for £120. The gem being declined by this first-rate connoisseur, it was purchased by Joaquin Cortes (director of the Seville Academy) for Madrazo for £180, on speculation, who worked much on it himself, and then handed it over to Señor Bueno, one of the most daring of his familiars. Finally £2000 was asked for the picture, which eventually was bought by the Infante Don Sebastian for £900. Now, except the outline, scarcely one touch is by Murillo. These facts were stated to me by Bejarano, Cortes, and Mr. Williams." \*

The Child Jesus as the Good Shepherd (No. 46) has ever, belongs to *St. Bernard of Clairvaux*. Ribadeneira (p. 396) states it thus—"Ita fertur aliquando patulum ejus os lacte de S.S. suis uberibus prosiliente suaviter implēsse, atq. hinc illam styli suavitatem quæ cunctis in scriptis ejus sese prodit, liberaliter hausisse."

\* Hand-book, p. 771, where will be found an account of the Jubilee of St. Francis worth referring to. *Portiuncula* is the name of a place about a mile from Assisi, where St. Francis rebuilt a ruined church dedicated to the Virgin. See Ribadeneira, p. 472, and compare the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, No. 173. As to the picture, see Palomino, iii. p. 624.



an expression of a very high character; the St. John the Baptist (No. 50) is rather affected, and inferior to it.

The Adoration of the shepherds (No. 191) is in the artist's harder and more forcible manner; the child, however, shows marks of his softer handling. In the Martyrdom of St. Andrew (No. 182), on the other hand, the body of the apostle and much of the picture is painted with the lightest possible pencil.

Two of the pictures by Murillo in the Madrid Gallery are landscapes (Nos. 276, 288). Mr. Williams, also, at Seville possessed specimens of the master in this department, which were freely painted. Palomino tells a story to the effect that the Marquis of Villa-Manrique agreed with Murillo for certain pictures of the History of David, in which the landscape backgrounds were to be painted by Iriarte. Some difficulty arose as to which artist should begin his portion, and it ended in Murillo executing the landscape himself\*. The landscape painting of Murillo, however, is not like that of Velazquez: it is conventional, and bears the character of an accessory instead of the vivid, clear, objective feeling of nature which we see in such works as the sketches in the gardens of Aranjuez by the latter master.

The new Spanish Gallery at the Louvre contains thirty-seven pictures ascribed to Murillo. The critic in the *Kunstblatt* especially mentions the Magdalen (No.

\* Palomino, iii. p. 627. See afterwards what is said on the picture in the Grosvenor Gallery, p. 183.

159)\*, the Conception (No. 148), and the Annunciation (No. 147): of the second he says, "The bright glow of light shed around the Virgin, and poured full, as it were, from the higher regions of heaven by the angels, is admirable. The outlines are softened by it; the tone of colour is rendered more harmonious, and the whole scene acquires a most powerful effect of a magic and misty character. The same sort of result is produced in the Annunciation."†

The same writer then goes on to praise the *Virgen de la faja* (No. 156), which formerly belonged to the Conde de Aguila, and for which Baron Taylor is said to have paid 100,000 fr. It is finely painted, but not ideal in character. He adds that it is pure as when it came from the studio of Murillo. In saying that Murillo painted the Joseph and Infant Christ (No. 152) when he was scarcely sixteen years old, and under the first impression of admiration for Vandyck, the author is clearly in error‡. Moya did not come to Seville until after Vandyck's death at the end of 1641, when Murillo must have been twenty-four years of age§. The St. John the Baptist (No. 157) is placed on the same level as the works of Coreggio with reference to the chiaroscuro. If the San Rodrigo (No. 176) is the one formerly belonging to the Canon Pereira, it is a

\* Query, was this picture formerly in the possession of Señor Bravo at Seville?

† Kunstblatt for 1838, No. 94, s. 382.

‡ Ibid. No. 95, s. 385.

§ Compare Cean Bermudez, Diccion. ii. p. 49; iii. p. 207.

very fine picture \*. Last of all, it is necessary to notice the portraits in this collection : among them is Murillo's own, being, if I do not mistake, the one which passed from the hands of Mr. Williams into those of Mr. Standish, whence it came into the Louvre. The Maid-servant of the artist (No. 180) is the subject of another ; but the finest of all—equal, indeed, to the portraits of Velazquez—is the full-length picture of Don Andreas de Andrade, with his hand on the head of a large dog : the picture is thence known by the name of "*El Perdriguero*."† Wilkie speaks thus of it—"Brackenbury's Murillo—the Man with the Dog—is also in the gallery ; this I saw in the linen-draper's " (Bravo's) "house at Seville, and the expression of the head strikes me as much now as it did then. It seems to see you while you look at it."

The greater part of Marshal Soult's Murillos have already been adverted to : it should be said that he has also a most glorious specimen of the favourite Andalusian subject—the Immaculate Conception—a picture which displays the painter's characteristic excellences as strongly as any other in the whole collection ‡.

\* Query, was the St. Diego de Alcalà (No. 177) purchased from Mr. Williams ?

† This noble portrait was brought to this country by Sir J. Macpherson Brackenbury, with other fine Spanish works : it is painful to think that it was ever suffered to leave England and grace the walls of a foreign gallery. Compare *Life of Wilkie*, iii. p. 117.

‡ These Murillos, again, like so many other fine pictures, might once have been purchased by the English government. Mr. Buchanan tells us this (*Memoirs*, i. p. 40), and in an Appendix he describes the eight principal pictures. Sebastiani's collection, too, was refused by George IV. in 1814. See *Ford's Hand-book*, p. 883.

Besides those in the new Spanish collection, the old Gallery of the Louvre contains seven pictures attributed to Murillo: one of these (No. 1091), of the Infant Christ on the knees of the Virgin receiving a cross of reed from St. John, is very fine in quality. Waagen says of it—"As regards light and colour this picture is truly miraculous. The child, catching the full light, has such tenderness in its bright and ruddy golden tone—such clearness in the shadows and reflected lights—such a flowing softness and roundness, as astonish us: every thing, including the under-garment of the Virgin, which is of a peach-blossom colour, unites in one harmonious tone."\* The same author says that the handling of the flesh, in the picture of Peter kneeling before Christ (No. 1093), reminds him strongly of Vandyck.

In Germany there are some fine works of Murillo's, especially in the Esterhazy palace at Vienna and at Munich; in the Pinacothek of the latter capital will be found two or three admirable specimens of his beggar boys; such as No. 363, No. 375, No. 376. The Old woman, child, and dog (No. 382) is doubtful; No. 383 is probably not genuine. Three or four Murillos will also be found in the Duke of Leuchtenberg's collection; one of them is, I conceive, the picture of St. Raphael with the Bishop Francisco Domonte kneeling before him, which was formerly in the "Merced Calzada" at Seville†. Another of the Virgin and Child with a bunch of grapes is a most popular picture, but I could never

\* Waagen, Paris, s. 636.

† Cean Bermudez, Diccion. ii. p. 59.

convince myself that either in its conception or its execution it bore the character of Murillo.

The St. Antony of Padua, now in the Museum at Berlin, is said to have come from the Alcazar at Seville\*: another picture, in the same collection, is the portrait of a Cardinal. The large Virgin and Child, in the Corsini Palace at Rome, is an exquisite picture in the artist's second manner.

The Gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg contains eighteen pictures of this master, a portion of which, including a landscape, came from the Houghton collection †.

It would be out of the question to attempt to enumerate all the pictures of Murillo which exist in this country; we have on the one hand many very fine specimens of the master, and on the other a sort of rage has prevailed for his works, which has led to the indiscriminate application of his name to productions utterly unworthy of his pencil. It must be remembered too that the successive styles of Murillo differ most materially one from the other, and that the general ignorance of Spanish pictures has afforded full opportunity for profaning the names of the two or three masters who happen to be best known ‡. Under these circumstances,

\* Nagler, *Künstler, Lexicon*, x. s. 45.      † Ibid. ss. 51, 52.

‡ A very short time since I went into a picture-shop in London to examine a singular picture of the Virgin in a most elaborately embroidered petticoat. The dealer had affixed the name of Zuccaro to the frame, on the strength, probably, of the petticoat, which resembled some of those in which the portrait of Queen Elizabeth has been painted by that artist. I expressed my surprise at the name.—“Yes, sir,” he said, “Zuccaro or Velazquez.” This alternative appeared still

however, second-rate paintings resembling Murillo's later manner, executed with apparent freedom and with a certain amount of mistiness of outline, have perhaps less chance of being originals than some of the harder and darker looking works, apparently unworthy of him, but which from their very want of resemblance to his more popular manner would hardly have acquired the name without some reason. After all, it is the execution itself which must decide the question; above every thing, a careful examination should be made of the extremities of the figures, in which defective drawing and want of power soonest show themselves. It is here that the amateur must look for that touch of the brush, which whilst it is sure and definite is yet free and unrestrained, and shows that the hand which guided the pencil belonged to one who felt and understood the details of the form. The colour of the flesh, too, in contact with linen is very fine in Murillo; and, as Sir Joshua has truly said, none but great colourists can succeed in overcoming this difficulty, or reap any profit from the contrast\*.

The large Murillo in the National Gallery representing the Saviour between the Virgin and St. Joseph, with

more strange, and I ventured to observe that there was a difference between the two masters. "Why, the fact is," he added, "the picture came from Spain, and Zuccaro is not a Spanish master, that is the only reason for calling it Velazquez." After this explanation there was nothing to be said, and it was easy to believe that the man had rightly accounted for the name of Velazquez.

\* Sir Joshua Reynolds's Works, ii. p. 280. See note to Kugler's Dutch and Flemish Schools, p. 228. The remark is made by Sir Joshua with reference to Rubens's great picture at Antwerp.

the Father in the clouds above, is a fine specimen of the master; it was painted for the family of the Marquis de Pedrosa; the English government purchased it in 1837\*. Another picture in the same collection is St. John with the lamb, which with its companion, the Good Shepherd, were bought by Sir Simon Clarke, in 1801. In May, 1840, the government purchased the St. John for 2000 guineas, and the Good Shepherd was bought by Baron Rothschild for 3900 guineas. Mrs. Jameson tells us that the picture of the same subject in Lord Ellesmere's gallery is a copy of this, by a Frenchman, Alexis Grimoux, and passed for the original until the arrival of the real picture in England†. The National Gallery also possesses a picture of a peasant boy by Murillo.

The collection at Dulwich is very rich in fine works of this master: among which the Flower girl is equal to any production of the same character—even to the Boys at Munich. It came from the Colonna collection: both Waagen and Passavant do full justice to its merits‡. The large Virgin and Child in heaven is glorious in its colour and most carefully executed. The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel Mrs. Jameson describes as “a most charming

\* Mrs. Jameson's Public Galleries, i. p. 42. This is the picture with reference to which a deputation were desirous of remonstrating with the trustees on the representation of the Eternal Father. See Minutes presented to Parliament, p. 12. Edinburgh Review, No. 173. The trustees wisely declined the interview.

† Mrs. Jameson's Private Galleries, p. 110. It evidently passed current with Passavant, who calls it “ein liebliches Bildchen.” *Kunstreise*, s. 58.

‡ Compare Waagen's *England*, ii. s. 193; Passavant, *Kunstreise*, s. 27.

picture, full of simplicity and sentiment,"\* and in this praise the two German tourists fully agree. The Crucifixion of St. Andrew is the sketch for Mr. Miles's large picture †. Lord Ellesmere has a spirited study of Dives and Lazarus.

In the Duke of Sutherland's gallery we find the two Murillos from the collection of Marshal Soult, of which I have already spoken—Abraham receiving the Angels, and the Prodigal son. In the same collection is a fine portrait, a St. Francis, two pictures of S<sup>ta</sup>. Justa and S<sup>ta</sup>. Rufina, and three small studies in one frame ‡.

The Marquis of Westminster possesses an Infant Christ sleeping and a young St. John; but the most remarkable Murillo in the Grosvenor Gallery is the large picture of Laban and Jacob, which came from the Santiago Palace in Madrid. The execution of the landscape is extremely fine, though, as Passavant says, not without a little mannerism §. Mr. Buchanan, in his *Memoirs*,

\* *Public Galleries*, ii. p. 492.

† *Passavant, Kunstreise*, s. 28; compare *Waagen's England*, ii. s. 346.

‡ *Mrs. Jameson's Private Galleries*, p. 191.

§ *Mrs. Jameson (Private Galleries, p. 253)* tells us that the Jacob and Laban in the Grosvenor Gallery was the picture executed for the Marquis of Villa Manrique, in which Murillo painted the landscape himself, because he and Iriarte quarrelled as to which should first perform his portion. The subject, she says, was changed from the Life of David to that of the picture mentioned in the text. I have no doubt Mrs. Jameson speaks on good authority, but Palomino does not appear to have known any thing of this change of subject; moreover, it was not one picture, but a series of pictures to which the story applied—"Y así él solo hizo las tales pinturas con historias y paeses," *Palomino*, iii. p. 627; compare *Waagen's England*, ii. s. 127; *Passavant, Kunstreise*, s. 66; *Buchanan's Memoirs*, ii. pp. 220. 228. 233.



tells us that three of the pictures from the Santiago Collection were imported by him through Mr. Wallis in 1808. The first was a Virgin and Child, which was sold to Lord Berwick for £2500; the second was the picture of which we are now speaking, and for which Lord Grosvenor gave a Claude and a Poussin in addition to £1200. The subject of the third was St. Joseph and the Virgin conducting the Infant Saviour, and it was sold to Mr. Harris, of Bond Street, for £2000.

The Marquis of Lansdowne is the owner of Murillo's portrait of Don Justino Francisco Neve, which formerly hung in the refectory of the Hospital of "Los Venerables," at Seville. Neve was the canon who commissioned Murillo to paint the four half-circles for S<sup>ta</sup>. Maria la Blanca, which have been already mentioned. This picture, which is at Bowood, is called by Waagen "an especially beautiful portrait."\* Palomino says that it was extremely like, and that other dogs used to bark at the little English dog (*perrilla Inglesa*) at his feet†. Besides this remarkable portrait, Lord Lansdowne has an Infant Saviour, an Immaculate Conception, and a small figure of the Virgin kneeling—all by Murillo.

I believe that one of the finest Murillos in England is the picture of St. Thomas of Villanueva distributing alms, which came from the Franciscan Church at Genoa. It was purchased there by Mr. Irvine, in 1805, and was sold for £1000 to Mr. Wells, of Redleaf, in

\* Waagen's England, ii. s. 296.

† Palomino, iii. p. 625; who, however, calls the Canon, Don *Faustino* (not *Justino*) de Nebes.

whose splendid collection it still remains. Waagen says that it belongs to the second period of the master, and expresses the highest admiration at the dignity of the saint, and the truth and vigour of the beggars and the poor around him \*. The charity of this same saint is the subject of another of the most characteristic pictures by Murillo in this country—that belonging to Lord Ashburton, and which represents St. Thomas of Villanueva as a child giving away his clothes to the beggars around him. A copy of this picture by Meneses was in private hands at Seville in 1833, and Mr. Williams had the sketch of it. Lord Ashburton's picture was imported by Mr. Buchanan, having been, like many others, bought from General Sebastiani †. Besides this picture, Lord Ashburton has three other Murillos, of one of which Waagen speaks as being a most brilliant specimen of the master's colouring. Sir Thomas Baring's Conception of the Virgin came from the Le Brun collection, and originally from "Carmen descalzo," in Madrid; it is described as a very beautiful picture. The same collection contains a small Assumption, a Holy Family, a Girl raising her veil, and an admirably coloured picture of a mischievous-looking shepherd boy ‡. Mr. Miles, of Leigh Court, has the Crucifixion of St. Andrew, of which the sketch at Dulwich has been already noticed, as well as a Holy Family,

\* See Buchanan's *Memoirs*, i. p. 171; Waagen's *England*, i. s. 159; Passavant, *Kunstreise*, s. 214.

† Buchanan's *Memoirs*, ii. p. 265; Waagen's *England*, ii. s. 83.

‡ Buchanan's *Memoirs*, ii. p. 255; Passavant, *Kunstreise*, s. 130; Waagen's *England*, ii. s. 252. Query, does not the Girl raising her veil now belong to Mr. Holford?

and I believe other pictures by the same master \*. Mr. Munro possesses a St. Antony like that at Berlin, and a sketch of the Loaves and fishes in the "Caridad." Passavant mentions also a Joseph and his Brethren belonging to Lord Arundel of Wardour—two pictures of Beggar boys at Blenheim—and a St. Francis Xavier, in the hands of Mr. O'Neil, near Manchester †. Waagen speaks of the figure of a boy at Warwick Castle, remarkable for the masterly foreshortening of the hand, and of two pictures, one a St. Theresa and the other a St. John the Baptist, in the collection of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Alton Towers ‡. Mr. Rogers has a small sketch of St. Joseph with the Infant Christ, which came from Mr. Hope's collection. The collections of Lord Hather-ton and that of the Earl of Radnor each contain a specimen of the master §. Mr. Ford has a large picture of two monks, from the "Claustro chico," left behind by Soult in his flight.

Lord Northwick's Murillo, if I mistake not, came from the Santiago collection. Sir William Eden, of Windlestone, in the county of Durham, has three Murillos which he purchased of Mr. Williams: two of them are the Virgin and Child, full-length figures—one *la Virgen de la Manzana*, from an apple which the child holds in his hand; the other a *Virgen del Rosario*. The former is in Murillo's early manner, the latter is the picture mentioned by Ponz as in the Carmelite Con-

\* Waagen's England, ii. ss. 346, 347; Passavant, Kunstreise, s. 154.

† Passavant, Kunstreise, ss. 176. 184. 220.

‡ Waagen's England, ii. ss. 367. 463.

§ Ibid. ii. ss. 207. 268.

vent at Seville. The third picture is a *Porciuncula*, or Vision of St. Francis, in Murillo's strongest and darkest style.

But it is impossible to reckon up the works, real or pretended, of a master like Murillo, scattered throughout the length and breadth of England in country-seats. There can be no doubt whatever that numerous genuine pictures exist, each, perhaps, the source of delight and enjoyment to the family who contemplate it from day to day, but of which the author or the public have never heard\*.

I cannot close this chapter without adding a few remarks and extracts with reference to the style of Murillo, more especially as compared with that of Velazquez, and I shall then proceed to say a few words on the condition of the various schools of art throughout the rest of Europe, at the time when these two great painters flourished in Spain.

Murillo's later style, that which is most characteristic of his celebrated works, combines softness and vigour with the finest colouring. There is in his heavenly figures a lightness and clearness which produces the effect of a texture wholly different from that of the earthly personages, and the contrast often gives additional value to each separate portion of the same picture. The solid, flesh-like substance of the kneeling

\* The reader must make allowance for numerous errors in this attempt to point out specimens of Murillo in England. In speaking of the merits of his pictures in private hands in this country I have not given my own judgment—for I have seen but few of them—but the opinion of Waagen, Passavant, and others. Sir William Eden's pictures I have never myself seen.

saint, or the crowd in the foreground, reminds us, by its truth and force, of the beggar boys and street scenes which the artist sometimes painted, whilst the glorified beings above hover in a sort of halo of misty light. The execution harmonizes admirably with the subjects. The cold grey tones of Murillo's back-grounds serve to give full value to the mellow colour of his principal figures, and in the painting of flesh as such he never was excelled\*.

With regard to the comparative merits of Murillo and Velazquez, whilst I entertain a firm conviction that the latter master showed the greater genius, I must content myself by laying before the reader the following extracts from the letters and journal of a far more competent judge—Sir David Wilkie.

“For handling no one surpasses him” (Velazquez); “but in colour Reynolds is much beyond him, and so is Murillo. Compared with Murillo, indeed, he has greater talent; more the founder of a school—more capable of giving a new direction to art; he has displayed the philosophy of art; but Murillo has concealed it, and we are surprised that art and address can do so much. One wonders, too, that sheer simplicity should be so little behind them. In painting an intelligent portrait Velazquez is nearly unrivalled, but where he attempts simple nature or sacred subjects he is far inferior to Murillo.”†

Again, he says—

“Murillo, though of the same school, and of nearly

\* See *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. xxvi. p. 269.

† *Life of Wilkie*, ii. p. 505, Letter to Mr. Phillips.

the same time, is a painter opposed in almost every thing to Velazquez. If not greater in point of talent, his subjects are more elevated; his painting and colouring more general and abstract at the same time. While the qualities of Velazquez are fitted chiefly for the artist, from their high technical excellence, those of Murillo, from their extreme simplicity, are addressed to the multitude. No painter is so universally popular as Murillo; without trick or vulgar imitation, he attracts every one by his power, and adapts the higher subjects of art to the commonest understandings. Perhaps that very power tells to his prejudice amongst painters, who suppose the great qualities of art can be appreciated only by the few; but, unless art can affect the uninstructed, it loses its influence upon the great mass of mankind. As a colourist, I should be disposed to give Murillo a high place; he is sometimes in his backgrounds heated and foxy; but in his flesh he has an object distinct from most of his contemporaries, and seems, like Rembrandt, to aim at the general character of flesh when tinged with the glow of the sun. His colour seems adapted for the highest class of art; it is never minute or particular, but a general and poetical recollection of nature; and when successful it is of the same class, and, in no remote degree, an approach to Titian and Coreggio\*.

“Velazquez and Murillo are preferred, and preferred with reason, to all the others, as the most original and characteristic of their school. These two great painters are remarkable for having lived in the same time, in the

\* Life of Wilkie, ii. pp. 486, 487, Journal.

same school, painted from the same people, and of the same age, and yet to have formed two styles so different and opposite, that the most unlearned can scarcely mistake them—Murillo being all softness, while Velazquez is all sparkle and vivacity.”

He adds—

“ Compared with Murillo, he has more intellect and expression, more to surprise and to captivate the artist. Still Murillo is a universal favourite, and perhaps suffers in the estimation of some only because all can admire him. But if he is in some qualities superior to Velazquez, and in design much inferior to the schools of Italy, yet for colour he gives an abstract hue of nature, particularly in his flesh, that is much in the manner of Titian and Coreggio.” \*

There can be little question that, during the latter years of Velazquez and Murillo, no school in Europe rivalled that of Spain in portrait and in history. Rubens died in 1640, Vandyck in 1641†; the successors of these masters in the school of Brabant were far inferior in energy and originality to the great Spanish artists. In Italy the revival of art under the Caracci had borne its fruits; great men yet lived at Bologna. Domenichino's death took place in the same year as that of Vandyck; Guido's in 1642; but Albani lived until 1660, and Guercino died in 1666. Admirable, however, as the latter master sometimes is, I cannot bring myself to rank any of his works so high as the best of Murillo's;

\* Life of Wilkie, ii. pp. 472, 473, Letter to Sir Thos. Lawrence.

† Hand-book of Painting, Flemish and Dutch Schools, p. 224, 242, note.

the original taint of the school—the conventional tone of the Eclectics—joined occasionally with a naturalist tendency, adheres to many of his productions; and where we miss this fault we find colour and handling not superior to those of the great masters of Seville. It is not in such men as Tiarini, Leonello Spada, or Sassoferrato that rivals of the Spanish painters can be found. The Naturalists had put forth vigorous shoots in Southern Italy, and though Ribera died in 1656, Salvator Rosa lived till the year 1673. Still the gentleness and vigour of Murillo cannot be matched by any thing which Italy could at this time show.

At the other extremity, indeed, of the old Spanish dominions—in the swamps of Holland—artists might be found to compete with Velazquez in force, and in the life-like quality of his portraits. Rembrandt is said to have outlived the Spanish master by fourteen years, and Van der Helst died in 1670\*. Nothing can be more curious than a comparison of such contemporary works. We see in Rembrandt's portraits a preference given to extreme old age and crippled deformity, in spite of which the mere chiaroscuro produces a grandeur of effect such as dignifies the form of the meanest Jew pedlar. In Velazquez the high-bred Castilian cavalier or the court lady stand before us in perfect truth, and embody the spirit of the palace of the House of Austria. We regret, indeed, sometimes the expres-

\* The ordinary date of Rembrandt's death is 1674; but there are reasons for thinking that this is an error, and that he died ten years earlier. See *Hand-book of Flemish and Dutch Schools*, p. 249, note.



sion of hereditary folly which taxed the artist's power so highly when he had to gloss over the defects of his royal subjects. In truth and handling the contrast is not so great as in colour; the vigour and boldness of Rembrandt is not unlike in degree to that of Velazquez, though the handling and tone of the latter, as Wilkie has remarked, often resemble more closely, on a larger scale, that of another great Dutch master of the same day—David Teniers the younger. Velazquez presents us with the principles of Teniers applied in a wider field\*.

I say nothing of Claude and Nicholas Poussin; they were contemporaries of Velazquez and Murillo, but the former worked in a department wholly undeveloped in Spain, and the latter is so different in every way as hardly to admit a comparison; that he was a great artist there can be little doubt, but I confess I should hesitate to place him, as a *painter* properly so called, in the same rank as the two Spaniards.

Thus then it seems clear that, with the exception of Holland, no school of Europe could at the time contest the palm with the school of Seville.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### SUCCESSORS OF VELAZQUEZ AND MURILLO.

*Juan de Pareja* (1606—1670) was a *mestizo*, or half caste, and one of a class of slaves not uncommon in

\* I think the reader may satisfy himself of this analogy by carefully looking at the Velazquez lately added to the National Gallery. See above, p. 153.

Seville\*; it was his good fortune to be the slave of Velazquez, on whom he attended through life. His master employed him to grind his colours, clean his pencils, and prepare his palette; and the slave was thus stimulated to teach himself drawing and the rudiments of painting. He accompanied his master to Madrid in 1623, and to Italy on the two occasions of his visiting that country. It is said that Velazquez, before painting the portrait of Innocent X., made a study of the head of Pareja, which was exhibited among the works of other artists in the Pantheon, and excited the admiration of all who saw it, on account of its resemblance to the original, and its wonderful execution. After the return of Velazquez to Madrid in 1651, Pareja sought an occasion for showing the progress which he had made in art; he painted a small picture, which was turned with its face to the wall in his master's studio. Philip IV., on one of his accustomed visits, desired, as was his habit, that the picture placed thus might be turned round for his inspection; the slave obeyed, and on the king asking who had painted it, he threw himself at his feet, and begged him to intercede with his master to pardon his presumption in debasing the liberal art of painting by servile hands. Philip good-naturedly turned to Velazquez, and told him that one who possessed such talents could not continue a slave. Don Diego of course

\* As to the continuance of slavery in Spain, we are told by M. Biot, "En 1712, Philippe V. expulsant d'Espagne tous les maures libres ou châtres, laissa les esclaves pour ne pas faire tort à leurs maîtres. Il recommanda seulement aux juges de veiller sur leur conduite." (Sur l'Esclavage, p. 422.)

granted Pareja his freedom, but the latter remained with him until his death, and then continued to serve his daughter. There is a large picture by Pareja in the Madrid Gallery which came from the Palace of Aranjuez; the subject is the Call of St. Matthew; its merit is moderate, and the figure of Christ is unfortunately the worst part. The Spanish Museum of the Louvre contains two pictures attributed to Pareja.

The son-in-law of Velazquez, *Juan Bautista del Mazo Martinez*, has the reputation of being his most successful pupil. Mazo's portraits are said to have been good; one of them is to be seen in the Madrid Gallery; but his landscapes are more numerous in that collection. The view of Saragossa is well painted, and the figures in the foreground are supposed to have been executed by Velazquez\*. Another of these works is a view of the Escorial, and there is one of Campillo, a place formerly belonging to the monks of that monastery. On the death of Velazquez, Mazo became *pintor de cámara*, and died in 1687. The portrait of Charles II. of Spain, mentioned by Palomino, is now in the Spanish gallery of the Louvre†.

*Don Juan de Alfaro y Gámez* was another scholar of Velazquez; he was born at Cordova, in 1640, and had originally studied in the school of Antonio del Castillo. Among other portraits he executed that of Calderon, which was placed over the poet's tomb in S<sup>a</sup>. Salvador, at Madrid. This artist died in 1680, when Palomino

\* This is stated in the present Catalogue of the Royal Gallery, but is not mentioned in that of 1828. The number of the picture is 79.

† No. 133. See Palomino, iii. p. 552.

derived from his notes and papers a good deal of information respecting some of the masters whose lives are included in his book.

Murillo, like Velazquez, had a slave who became a painter; this was the mulatto, *Sebastian Gomez*, some of whose pictures were in the "Merced" and the Capuchins at Seville, where he is supposed to have died after his master.

*Pedro Nuñez de Villavicencio*, a knight of Malta, was born at Seville, in 1635, of a noble family. He became the pupil of Murillo, and, after profiting by his instruction, he left Spain for some time. At Malta he studied under Mathias Preti, (*Il Calabrese*,) but again returned to Seville, and placed himself in the school of his old master, whom he cherished with the greatest affection. He was one of the witnesses of Murillo's will, and the great artist died in his arms. Many pictures by Villavicencio probably pass current under the name of Murillo: how well the former could paint is shown by his excellent picture of Boys quarrelling and gambling in the street, which is in the Royal Collection at Madrid; it is a work of that class and character which we so often see out of Spain attributed to Murillo, and which we never meet with by him in his native country; the upper part of the picture has been added\*. The Earl of Shrewsbury, at Alton Towers, has a picture by Villavicencio†; he died in 1700.

*Francisco Meneses Osorio* and *Juan Garzon* were intimate friends and fellow pupils in the school of Murillo.

\* See Catalogue, No. 61; compare Hand-book, p. 755.

† Wangen, England, ii. s. 463.

The former finished the picture at Cadiz which his master was painting when he fell from the scaffold \*. A copy by Meneses of Murillo's picture of St. Thomas of Villanueva as a boy giving away his clothes to the poor was, as I have already said, at Seville in 1833. A St. Ildefonso also bears his name in the Spanish collection of the Louvre, but I do not find any picture attributed to either of these two scholars of Murillo in the Catalogue of the Royal Gallery at Madrid. Meneses died at Seville in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and Garzon at Madrid, in 1729.

*Ignacio de Iriarte* has been already named in connection with Murillo; he was a Guipuzcoan, having been born at Azcoitia in the year 1620. When twenty-two years of age he came to Seville, and placed himself in the school of Herrera el viejo; his progress, however, in figures was not great, and he gave himself up to landscape. Specimens of his works will be found in the Madrid Gallery and in the Spanish collection at Paris. If the reader expects much from them he will be disappointed. Mr. Ford truly says, "Compared to the Italian, Dutch, and English landskip painters, Iriarte is very second-rate; but in Spain, as among the classical ancients, *landskip* was only an accessory, and seldom treated as a principal, either in art or in literature."† Iriarte was one of the artists who set up the Seville Academy, in 1660, and acted as its first secretary; he died in 1685.

\* See above, p. 174.

† Hand-book, p. 761. See on the relation of Iriarte to Murillo, pp. 176. 184.

Another painter who took an active part in the establishment of this institution was *Juan de Valdes Leal*, born at Cordova in 1630. He became the pupil of Antonio del Castillo\*, and married a lady of Cordova, who, though one of a noble family, was herself skilled in painting; her name was Isabel de Carrasquilla. Valdes executed a good many works both at Cordova and Seville; the superior fame of Murillo, however, irritated him when alive, and has eclipsed his reputation in later times. Some of Valdes's works may be seen in the Cathedral of Seville; among which that of the Virgin bestowing the *casulla* † on St. Ildefonso is worth observing.

The natural jealousy of Valdes was, no doubt, aggravated by a constant sense of his inferiority to Murillo, but stories are told by Palomino which show his temper with reference to other rivals in art. For instance, it is said that, when he was President of the Academy at Seville, an Italian painter who visited that city requested permission to draw in the Academy; Valdes was inclined not to comply with his request, but by the interference of the patrons of the institution the foreigner

\* Palomino conjectures that he was the scholar of Roelas, but Cean Bermudez points out the fact that Roelas died five years before Valdes was born; compare Palomino, iii. p. 644; Cean Bermudez, Diccion. v. p. 107.

† See Ribadeneira, p. 57; Ford's Hand-book, p. 844. The *casulla* (Span.), *chasuble* (French), *casula* or *planeta* (Latin), is the garment worn over the alb by the priest when he says mass. His head passes through a hole in the middle, and it hangs down before and behind. "*Casula dicitur vulgo planeta Presbyteri, quia instar parvæ casæ totum tegit et signat caritatem.*"—quoted in Adelung's Ducange, in v. *casula*.

attained his object\*. When admitted, he proceeded to cover a sheet of white paper with charcoal, and then took out the lights here and there with bread until he produced an outline and half shadows; in a short time he completed a figure very well executed. In this manner he finished a couple of drawings in a single night, and Valdes was so much annoyed at his skill, that he did not let him in more than three or four times. The Italian, vexed at this exclusion, bought two pieces of canvas and painted on them a figure of Christ crucified and one of St. Sebastian. These pictures, which were executed with great cleverness, he exposed on the steps of the cathedral on the day of some festival. Valdes was then so provoked that he threatened to murder the artist, who was obliged to leave the town, but not before he had sold his pictures.

In the "Caridad," at Seville, Valdes painted several large works; one of these contained the representation of a certain number of dead bodies, apparently decaying, and it was with reference to this picture that Murillo soothed the sensitive artist with the equivocal compliment, "This is something to be looked at with the hands and with the nose."

Valdes etched three little plates of the celebrated silver "*custodia*" by Juan de Arfe, belonging to the Chapter of Seville, as well as two others of the structure erected to celebrate the canonization of St. Ferdi-

\* Palomino (iii. p. 646) says the patron was the Marquis of Villamanrique. Cean Bermudez (Diccion. v. p. 108) corrects him, and states that it must have been his predecessor, the Conde de Arenales.

nand, and of the ornaments put up at the door of the cathedral. The artist went to Madrid in 1674, but afterwards returned to Seville: the death of Murillo left him at the head of his profession; in 1690, however, he had an attack of paralysis, and died in the following year.

Cean Bermudez tells us that the works of few painters have borne more resemblance to each other than those of Valdes and *Francisco Rizi*. The latter was the son of Antonio Rizi, who has been already mentioned. Francisco was born at Madrid in 1608, and learnt his art of Vincencio Carducho. In 1656 he became court painter to Philip IV., and retained that post under Charles II. In this capacity he worked abundantly in the royal palaces, and he was also employed by the Chapter of Toledo. Cean Bermudez says, "But that in which he most showed the fertility of his genius was the decoration of the theatre of the Buenretiro, the direction of which was entrusted to him. The evils which architecture suffered through the capriciousness of his design and the ridiculous character of his ornament are incalculable. The theatre of Buenretiro, placed as it was in the central position of the court, carried too much weight with it, not to be imitated by flattery and ignorance seeking to follow the fashion. By this means in a little time corruption and bad taste in architecture spread over the whole of Spain."\* A Churriguera soon succeeded to the royal favour, whose special mission it was to debase the national architecture by a principle of tawdriness and capricious frippery worse even than that

\* Diccion. iv. p. 205.



which prevailed in France under Louis XV. It is some consolation to think that this man's name has acquired an infamous notoriety by the epithet "*Churrigueresque*," which still characterizes the works of his school\*.

Rizi was one of those who share with Luca Giordano the credit of having contributed largely to the degradation of art in Spain. He died in 1685, when he had only just commenced the large picture afterwards completed by his pupil, Coello, which now forms the veil of the *Santa Forma*. There is a portrait by him in the Madrid Collection, as well as a picture of St. Francis receiving the Stigmata, by his brother *Fray Juan Rizi*. Specimens of Francisco's works will also be found in the Spanish Gallery of the Louvre.

*Don Juan Carreño de Miranda* was born at Avilés in the Asturias in 1614: his parents belonged to distinguished families in that province. Having been brought by his father to Madrid, he was placed in the school of Pedro de las Cuevas, and afterwards in that of Bartolomé Roman. Velazquez is said to have perceived the merit of Carreño, and to have got him employed in the royal palace. Philip IV. named him his painter in 1669, and he worked in company with Francisco Rizi. Charles II. made him *pintor de cámara*, and gave him a place at court. He died in 1685.

Carreño's works were numerous in the churches and palaces of the capital, and his portraits bore a high reputation. Some of his pictures will be found in the Spanish Gallery of the Louvre: the portrait of Charles II. in the Royal Gallery of Madrid presents us

\* Compare Ford's Hand-book, pp. 123. 771.

with a painful image of the idiocy down to which the features of the Spanish Bourbons had dwindled. In Philip IV. the forms are heavy and grotesque; in his son the forehead is lowered and the breadth of the lower part of the face reduced.

In the Esterhazy palace at Vienna there is a St. Dominic which resembles Vandyke, and a good portrait of Charles II. at the age of twelve, by Carreño, will be found in the Berlin Museum\*.

*Mateo Cerezo* was born at Burgos in 1635, and after learning the rudiments of art from his father was placed in the school of Carreño. Cerezo became especially celebrated for his pictures of the Immaculate Conception, and was employed, together with the younger Herrera, in the chapel of the Virgin of Atocha. This artist died in 1675†. He left pictures also at Valladolid and in his native city, where may be seen a crucifixion in the cathedral‡; but that which Palomino extols as his most wonderful work is a picture of the Pilgrims at Emmaus painted for the "Recollets" of Madrid. The St. Jerome in meditation, which is in the Royal Collection, is an imitation of Rubens: the Spanish Gallery of the Louvre contains five pictures bearing the name of

\* Kugler, *Handbuch der Gesch. der Malerei*, s. 267. No. 407 in the Catalogue.

† The text of Cean Bermudez's *Dictionary* (i. p. 312) says that Cerezo died in 1685; which is diligently copied into the old and new Catalogues of the Madrid Gallery. In fact, however, this date is a misprint: Palomino expressly tells us that he died in 1675 at the age of forty, and Cean himself agrees as to his age and the date of his birth, viz. 1635.

‡ See Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 898.

Cerezo, among which the S<sup>t</sup>. Thomas of Villanueva is probably the one formerly in the church of S<sup>ta</sup>. Isabel at Madrid. There is a good Ecce Homo by Cerezo in the Esterhazy Palace at Vienna. His colouring is often foxy.

*Juan Antonio Escalante* was a native of Cordova, where he was born in 1630. He studied painting under Francisco Rizi, but his favourite models were the Venetian masters, especially Tintoret. Indeed some of his pictures, such as the Holy Family (No. 185) in the Madrid Gallery, have scarcely the air of original works. The other picture of his in the same collection (No. 201) is good, but a little tawdry in colour. Escalante died in 1670.

Another pupil of Carreño was *Juan Martin Cabezalero*, born at Almáden in 1633. This artist lived only to the age of forty. In the Catalogue of the Madrid Gallery of 1828 one or two good portraits bore his name, but they do not appear in the Catalogue of 1843.

*Claudio Coello* \* was the son of a worker in bronze, and, though Portuguese in origin, was born at Madrid :

\* I have already spoken of Alonso Sanchez Coello (or Coelho). The family was fertile in professors of the fine arts : one of the most celebrated in his native country was *Bento Coelho da Silveira*, who lived about 1680, and died in 1708. His works are well spoken of by Count Raczynski. See *Les Arts en Portugal*, pp. 290—316. There is in the royal print collection at Dresden a most remarkable book of Rembrandt's, containing sketches from nature in black chalk : they are very slight, but very characteristic of the master. At the end of this book is the following note :—

“Ciento e quarenta e quatro debujos feitos a maom do famoso Rembrant da Rij aquistados p<sup>ra</sup>. mim Andrea Gonsalves pintor Portuguez o anno 1710, do estado do meu amado senh<sup>r</sup>. e maestro Bento

he was placed in the school of Francisco Rizi; whilst he remained there he executed pictures to which his master was not ashamed to lend his name, and he became the intimate friend of Juan Carreño. He also worked jointly with *Josef Ximenez Donoso*, a painter, born in 1628, at Consuegra, whose pictures are to be found at Madrid and at Valencia, and who was one of the propagators of the corrupt taste in architecture. Coello's best known work is the picture which serves as a screen to the *Santa Forma*, or holy wafer, in the sacristy of the Escorial\*. A picture for this purpose Coelho, pintor del Reij qe noso Senhor oz consirva no Ceo p<sup>a</sup> meu emparo."

At the beginning is another note:—

"Guarienti aquistó dal S. Andrea Gonsalves."

And under this is a second by Dietrici, saying that he got it from Guarienti in 1747. Guarienti is, of course, the person whose notes on the Portuguese painters have been reprinted by Count Raczynski (see p. 309). He was in Portugal from 1733 to 1736.

\* The *Santa Forma* is one of those miraculous wafers of which there have been so many vouchsafed to establish the truth of transubstantiation; it is never shown to heretics, but is exhibited for adoration on Sept. 29 and Oct. 28. (Hand-book, p. 816.) The *Santa Forma* was a consecrated host which fell into the hands of the Zwinglian heretics at Gorcum in Holland: these unbelievers trampled on it, when from three rents in the surface there oozed forth blood, to the confusion and terror of the impious, and the consolation of the faithful. The miracle caused remorse in one of the actors in the atrocity: he secretly informed the dean or provost of the church of what had occurred, and the wafer was privately conveyed to Mechlin, and there deposited in the convent of St. Francis: the penitent heretic, as a matter of course, became a monk. The Catholics afterwards got alarmed for the safety of the relic and transported it to Vienna, whence it was carried to Prague, and was finally presented to Philip II. by the Emperor of Germany. (See *Descripcion del Escorial*, por Andres Ximenez, Madrid, fol. 1714, p. 291.) The

had been begun by Rizi, but at his death the sketch alone was made. In this sketch the point of sight was placed too high, and Coello, when commissioned to

principle or theory involved in this class of miracles is curious enough to be worth considering. The reader will remember the miracle of Bolsena, immortalized in the Vatican by Raphael—that miracle which led to the institution of the festival of the Corpus Domini—and he may refer to the story of the "*Corporales*" of Daroca, in Mr. Ford's Hand-book, p. 876. (Compare Ribadeneira, *Sermo de SS. Eucharistiâ*, p. 58.) The general character of all these marvels is this—Transubstantiation may be called the standing miracle of the church; it differs, however, from most miracles, inasmuch as, in it, it is not the action on the outward senses which convinces the doubting or satisfies the incredulous, but, on the contrary, the spiritual conviction of an unseen change, gives the lie to the grosser conclusions which our senses would lead us to form: the substance is changed into flesh and blood, but the accidents cognizable by taste, touch, and smell, miraculously remain as if no change had occurred: this is certainly a violation of the ordinary laws of nature. Now in these cases in which blood flows from the wafer, or in which it assumes, partially or entirely, the sensible character as well as the inward substance of flesh, the original miracle is really *pro tanto* suspended; the laws of nature operate again. We may argue thus—"If this is a wafer it would be a miracle that it should bleed when pierced, but if it is a piece of flesh it is a miracle if it does not bleed." Perhaps, however, after all, it may be said that the miracle consists in the *partial* restoration of the accidents—blood indeed is there, but the host still looks like a wafer. Such a view will hardly meet the "*Corporales*" of Daroca, in which, as I understand Mr. Ford, the conversion into actual flesh was complete. Granting the original miracle of transubstantiation, these subsequent miracles are rather to be expected than otherwise; as Mr. Newman, in his preface to *Fleury*, asserts that after the Gospel miracles the presumption is rather in favour of, than against, the miracles of the middle ages; a puzzling mode of argument, since it sets one considering which state of things is the miraculous one, and which is to be treated as the normal condition of the physical world.

finish the work, accordingly altered the composition. After all, the shape prescribed by the place which the picture was to fill is too high in proportion to its width, and most of the figures were to be actual portraits in a kneeling attitude. The result, however, notwithstanding these difficulties, is most successful, and proves that, if Coello had lived in better times, he would have been a great master \*. With regard to his two pictures in the Royal Collection at Madrid, it must be said that one (No. 224) representing the Virgin on a throne, with St. Francis, St. Michael, and St. Antony, is far inferior to the *Santa Forma*, though some of the right-hand figures are very good; whilst the other (No. 306) is somewhat overloaded. A very good work of Claudio Coello's will be found in the Pinacothek at Munich: the subject is St. Peter of Alcantara with a Lay-brother walking on the sea; the figures are the size of life, and it is probably the picture which had already, in Cean Bermudez's time, disappeared from the church of S<sup>a</sup>. Gil in Madrid †. In the Grosvenor Gallery there is a St. Veronica by Coello.

The death of Claudio Coello may be called the death of Spanish art, for the blow was struck at both by the arrival of Luca Giordano, who came to Madrid in 1692. Coello never recovered the preference shown to the stranger, when he was employed on the vaulted ceiling of the church of the Escorial; and the Spanish artist died at Madrid in 1693 ‡.

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 816.

† Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* i. p. 344.

‡ He also etched three plates which I have never seen.

No master could have been selected whose influence would have been so disastrous to painting in Spain as that of *Luca Giordano* (or *Jordan*) proved to be: a dull and spiritless observer of technical rules and academical propriety would have been far less mischievous. Giordano's extraordinary powers of execution, and that facility which acquired for him the name of "*Luca fa-presto*,"\* charmed and led astray the Spanish artists of the time. There was already in the school of Seville a taint of looseness and inaccuracy of outline which became exaggerated under the influence of his example. Pure and severe drawing had never characterized Spanish art; the difficulties thrown in the way of studying the naked were sufficient to make such a safeguard difficult if not impossible to attain; but the close and accurate study of external nature and the forms of the world around them had given vigour and life to Velazquez and Murillo, and had saved them and their best pupils from sinking into the dead and stagnant conventionalism of the "*fare da se*," which the example of Luca Giordano was sure to encourage, and, by his success, to propagate†. There was in his dashing cleverness a real merit and a genuine power which were eminently calculated to mislead; his great Battle of St. Quintin, on the staircase of the Escorial, is a striking work—the more so, perhaps, because its tumult and confusion contrast singularly enough with the quiet grey aspect of the granite framework in which it is set, and with the noiseless

\* Lanzi, ii. p. 345.

† Compare, for the influence of Luca Giordano on Spanish art, Ford's Hand-book, pp. 764. 816.

solemnity of the building which it adorns. There is no necessity for enumerating the works which Luca Giordano left in Spain; in fact it would be most tedious to do so. The Royal Gallery at Madrid, the palaces, the churches, and, above all, the monastery of the Escorial, are full of his productions. He quitted Spain after the accession of Philip V. in 1702, and returned to Naples, where he died at the age of seventy-three in the year 1705.

The next artist whom it is necessary to notice is one to whom we are much indebted as an author—*Acisclo Antonio Palomino y Velasco*. He was born at Bujalance in the year 1653. Whilst yet a youth, he was taken to Cordova for the sake of his education; here he fell in with Valdes Leal, whose encouragement and instruction served to promote Palomino's love for the fine arts. Juan de Alfaro, on a visit to Cordova in 1675, was struck by the young artist's proficiency, and afterwards authorized him to complete certain works which he himself had left unfinished at Madrid. Palomino arrived at that capital in 1678, and within a short time attracted the notice of those who were then at the head of the Spanish school. Claudio Coello, on his return from the Escorial in 1686, employed him in the queen's apartments, and in 1688 he obtained the title of painter to the king. In 1699 he painted the dome of S<sup>a</sup>. Juan del Mercado at Valencia, which is "a poor performance."\* The dome of the chapel of "*Nuestra Señora de los Desamparados*—the Virgin of the Unprotected—the great Diana, to whom, when not protected

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 446.



by allies, the Blakes and Mahys applied in times of danger, instead of putting their own shoulders to the wheel"—was painted in 1701, and is described at length in Palomino's own book. In 1705 Palomino visited Salamanca, and there executed that work in St. Esteban of which Mr. Ford says—"The dome is painted in fresco by the feeble Antonio Palomino; the subject, the 'Triumph of Religion,' is a failure of art."† The cupola of the sacristy of the "Cartuxa" at Granada was painted in 1712, and the great convent of Paular, belonging to the same order, on the Guadarrama, was decorated by the same pencil‡. There is not much satisfaction, however, in dwelling on the works of a second-rate artist like Palomino, and it is more important to say a few words on the subject of his literary labours.

The licence for the publication was obtained in 1708, but the first volume of his book did not appear till 1715§. It consists of three volumes, the two first of which are entitled "*El Museo Pictorico y Escala Optica*," and contain a theoretical and practical treatise on the art of painting, including perspective and foreshortening: the third volume bears the title "*El Parnaso Español Pintoresco Laureado*," and comprises

\* Ford's Hand-book, p. 441; compare Palomino, ii. p. 296.

† Hand-book, p. 579.

‡ Ibid. p. 824; Palomino, ii. p. 322.

§ The preface to the second volume ends with this characteristic "Protestatio Auctoris," which is not uncommon in Spanish books—"Quidquid in præsentì opere dixero Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ sacroque fidei tribunali subjicio: si enim aliquid decretis suis non consonum inveniatur, tamquam non dictum obsecro censeatur.—Antonius Palomino et Velasco."

the lives of Spanish painters and sculptors. This is the portion of the work most interesting to us, and, although the inaccuracies of Palomino are great and frequent, yet we owe him much for the stories which he has preserved and handed down to us. Like Vasari he is fond of gossip, and requires to be corrected (as he has often been by Cean Bermudez) through a reference to contracts and documents\*.

Palomino's wife died in 1725; shortly afterwards the artist took orders, and died in the following year. He had a sister—*Doña Francisca Palomino y Velasco*—who obtained some skill in painting, and lived at Cordova.

Captain Widdrington has supplied us with the name of a Spanish master of the latter part of the seventeenth century who is not mentioned in Cean Bermudez's Dictionary. In speaking of the Museum of Valladolid, Captain Widdrington says—"In one of the rooms is a very good picture of the Holy Family and personages connected, with angels. The S<sup>ta</sup>. Ana is very beautiful—no doubt a portrait—very much in the style and quite equalling the works of Razzi (the Italian Sodoma), by an artist I was quite unacquainted with, signing himself *Oladus Ifaz*, 1671."† I can only say, that if this unknown master is equal to Razzi, he must have

\* See Cean Bermudez, *Diccionario*, i. pp. 4, 5.

† Captain Widdrington, *Spain in 1843*, ii. p. 31. Since the passage in the text was written, a reference to Mr. Ford's *Hand-book*, pp. 630, 637, has led me to the conviction that some mistake exists as to this artist. I apprehend that the painter referred to by Captain Widdrington must be Diego Valentin Diaz mentioned above, p. 76. Mr. Ford speaks of a Holy Family, signed *Didacus Diaz, pictor*, 1621; but observes that in the Catalogue the date is by mistake given as

been a very great man indeed, for few painters of any age or country could rival the works of Sodoma still existing at Sienna.

The Spaniards have had certain painters who were more or less celebrated for *Bodegones*, or pieces of still life: they have none of them sufficient excellence to make their names of much interest to a foreign reader; still they should not be omitted in a history of the Spanish school. One of these masters was *Juan de Arellano*, who was born at Santorcaz in 1614, and died at Madrid in 1676. Some of his flower pieces found their way even into churches. The pupil and son-in-law of Arellano, *Bartolomé Perez*, imitated the style of his master, but is darker in colour: he was born in 1634, and, after having been painter to the king, died in 1693 of a fall from a scaffold on which he had been engaged in painting the staircase of the Duke of Monteleon. A still later artist in the same department of art was *Luis Menendez*, or *Melendez* (as it is commonly written). This master was the son of Francisco Antonio Menendez, of whom I shall shortly speak. Luis was born in 1716, during his father's residence at Naples, and was employed by Ferdinand VI. in executing miniatures for the books of the royal choir; he also painted a large number of flower pieces and pictures of still life, which may still be seen in the Gallery at Madrid.

One of the best copyists and imitators of Murillo was *Alonso Miguel de Tobar*, an artist born at Higuera in 1671, whereas the artist died in 1660. I may add, as an additional reason, that I never met with *Oladus* as a Christian name.

1678\*. He was educated at Seville as the pupil of an indifferent painter—*Juan Antonio Faxardo*—but soon devoted himself to the study of the great works of Murillo which surrounded him on every side. He attained much skill in copying these pictures, and assimilated his style to that of his models. Like Pacheco he secured the honour of employment by the Holy Office, of which he was a familiar, and afterwards, in 1720, became painter to Philip V. His master-piece as an original work is the Holy Family in the chapel of *Nuestra Señora del Consuelo* in the cathedral of Seville; it is, however, very inferior to the best productions of Murillo. The Royal Collection at Madrid contains two pictures by Tobar, and there is one in the Spanish Gallery of the Louvre. Many more of his works probably exist in this and other countries under the name of Murillo. Tobar did not die till the year 1758.

The remaining names in the list of Spanish masters on which the reader would wish to dwell are not numerous. I ought to mention *Miguel Jacinto Menendez*, who was born at Oviedo in 1679, and his younger brother, *Francisco Antonio*. Both were employed by Philip V. The latter of the two left Madrid at the age of seventeen in the year 1699, and visited Italy: at Naples he found himself in such want that he enlisted as a soldier, and pursued his studies when his military duties would allow him to do so. In 1717 Menendez

\* Murillo died in 1682, when Tobar was four years old: when Mr. Ford, therefore, calls the latter "the best pupil" of the former (*Hand-book*, p. 253), it is in the sense of one whom the great master educated by his example, not by his personal instruction.

returned to Madrid, and was especially distinguished as a miniature painter. A memorial of his, presented in 1726, ultimately led to the establishment of the Royal Academy of San Fernando, which took place in 1752, after the artist's death. He left two sons and a daughter, who were artists; one of these (Luis) has been already mentioned. *Juan de Paredes* was a Valencian pupil of Miguel Menendez.

The best master of this declining period was *Antonio Viladomat*, a native of Barcelona, where he was born in 1678. Cean Bermudez observes, that all the progress he made was due to himself, for the two masters whom he had could teach him nothing but how to grind colours and prepare canvas \*. The names of these teachers were *Pascual Baylon* and *Bautista Perramon*. Viladomat lived till 1755, and his pictures may be seen at Barcelona: in the Madrid Gallery there is no specimen; the Spanish Collection in the Louvre contains a head of an old man, and in the Esterhazy Palace at Vienna there is a fine picture of the death of a saint, the style of which, I remember, recalled in some degree Baroccio, and, perhaps, Andrea Sacchi. Mr. Ford speaks of this master as "the only painter of whom Catalonia can boast:—the last ray of Murillo lighted on his palette; his style

\* See Cean Bermudez, *Diccion.* v. p. 238. The passage is worth quoting: "Se puede decir de Viladomat lo que Ciceron decia de Veleio Paterculo que todos los progresos que bizò en el arte, los debió solamente á sí mismo." How Cicero could say this of Velleius Paterculus, who probably was not born until some years after his death, a Spanish critic alone could explain. Cean Bermudez, perhaps, had in his mind the mention of C. Velleius as being "*exercitatione dicendi rudis*," which occurs in the *De Oratore*, iii. 20.

is simple, his drawing correct, and his colour rich and natural. His works are seldom met with out of Barcelona, and there they are neither valued nor cared for." \*

If we turn to Aragon we shall, according to Cean Bermudez †, find that, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the low condition of painting in the country, there were masters in that province who excelled in colouring and in other departments of the art. *Francisco Artiga*, a mathematician who was born at Huesca, painted a Conception, some Sibyls, and some perspective pieces in his native place. *Francisco Plano* executed architectural ornaments in the Sacristy of Our Lady *del Portillo*, and in other churches in Saragossa. *Pablo Rabiella* painted battle pieces, and some pictures which he executed for the chapels of Santiago and St. Mark in the cathedral of Saragossa are held in esteem, as well as those painted for the church of the "Trinitarios Calzados" in Teruel. *Juan Almor* worked for the "Car-tuja de la Concepcion," where he died. *Carlos Casanova* was a pupil of Geronimo Secano, and left many pictures in Saragossa. He had sufficient skill to be made *pintor de cámara* to Ferdinand VI., and afterwards devoted himself to engraving in mezzotint. His prints have some merit. *Carlos Casanova*, the son

\* Hand-book, p. 489.

† What follows respecting the Aragonese painters has again been translated from Cean Bermudez's paper in Minaño : it is right to say that the author has no personal knowledge whatever of this school.

of this last artist, gained one of the first prizes distributed by the Royal Academy of St. Ferdinand in 1753. He afterwards went to Mexico, where he died in 1778, being director of the department of engraving the dies for the royal mint.

*Pablo Pernicharo* and *José Romeo*, were painters of Aragon, who improved themselves much by their studies at Rome. After their return Pernicharo became, in 1753, director of the Academy of St. Ferdinand, and retained his post until his death in 1760. Romeo was made painter to Philip V., and held his office until he died in 1772.

*Juan Ramirez Benavides* was a native of Saragossa, and the son of the sculptor, Juan Ramirez, from whom he learnt the principles of drawing. In painting he was a pupil of José Luzan Martinez, under whom he made such progress as to be named, in 1753, a supernumerary associate of the Academy of St. Ferdinand. He afterwards came to Madrid, and profited much by the guidance of *Corrado Giacinto*, painter to the king. On his return to Saragossa he executed some works in the taste of this last master, and died in 1782.

*Frey Vicente Pignatelli*, knight professed of the order of St. John, learnt drawing and painting for his own amusement in his native place, Saragossa, under Don José Luzan. He was a competitor with others in the public school of design which the sculptor, Juan Ramirez, had established. Pignatelli was desirous of promoting the study of the fine arts in Saragossa by setting up a Royal Academy. With this view he went

to Madrid and was well received there by the Academy of St. Ferdinand, in which certain titles of honour were conferred on him, and he was named one of the council. After much exertion he failed in attaining his object, and returned, for the recovery of his health, to his native city, where he died in 1770. The Academy of St. Ferdinand, in the eulogium which they pronounced and published, said, "The arts lost by his death an artist who contributed in every way to ennoble them; and artists lost a protector, a master, we may say a friend."

*José Luzan Martínez* was born in Saragossa, in 1710, and was brought up in the house of the Pignatelli family, by whom he was sent to Naples to study painting with Mastroleo. By diligently copying the works of the best Italian masters he acquired correctness in drawing, freshness in colour, as well as good taste in his tints, and in the folding of his drapery. Having acquired these qualities, he returned home and painted works of some merit for churches and private houses. He afterwards married the daughter of *Don Juan Zabalo*, another master of reputation in Saragossa. When Philip V. had named Luzan as his painter, the artist went to Madrid to return thanks for the distinction, and then became known to the painters about the court, by whom he was received with honour. On his return home he painted some altar-pieces and easel pictures with more care and attention, and died in 1785. His loss was an important one for the school of Aragon, but it was supplied by his fellow-countrymen and his pupils.

At the death of Luzan the public school of design in



Saragossa fell to the ground; it had been established by Juan Ramirez, the sculptor, at his own expense, and had been supported by the aid and instruction of Luzan, his father-in-law Zabalo, Pablo Rabiella, Juan Ramirez Benavides, and Vicente Pignatelli, all of whom left no stone unturned at Madrid to obtain, with the assistance of Bayeu and Goya, a Royal Academy of the fine arts in their native city. In this they did not succeed, and the object was only attained by the repeated representations of the Patriotic Society of Aragon, and the active support and exertions of its generous member, Don Juan Martin de Goicoechea. It was founded by Charles IV.

There is no temptation to dwell on the art of Spain from the middle of the eighteenth century down to the present day. In 1761 Mengs followed Charles III. from Naples to Madrid; he was not the artist to revive any school, much less that of Spain at the time when he visited it; but it is impossible to sum up the demerits of the later Spanish painters better than Mr. Ford has done. He says, "Modern Spanish art, the child of corrupt parents, carries from its birth a germ of weakness. Mengs, the incarnation of the academical mediocre, led the way; then followed David, fit painter of the Revolution, who trampled on the fine arts of cowed Europe. His theatrical scenes *à la Corneille*, his swaggering, attitudinarian heroes *à la Grand Opéra*, combined with a certain Roman severity of drawing and a *rechauffé* of the antique, bewildered the Spanish R.A.s. already predisposed in his favour by his Mengs-like style. To him, therefore, they turned submissively

in spite of his want of *real* colour, air, nature and *life*—the soul of painting; and the disciples, as is common in heresies, out-heroded their master.”\* Mr. Ford then refers to a picture by *Aparicio* (1773—1838), of which the subject is the ransoming of 1700 slaves at Algiers, in 1768, by order of Charles III. “When ‘The ransomed slaves’ was exhibited at Rome, Canova, who knew the man, told *Aparicio*, ‘This is the finest thing in the world, and you are the first of painters.’ Soon after Thorwaldsen came in and ventured a critique, whereupon the Don indignantly quoted Canova. ‘Sir, he has been laughing at you,’ said the honest Dane, to whom *Aparicio* never spoke again.” Two other great works (great in superficial dimensions) of this master are the “Glories of Spain” and the “Famine of Madrid.”

*Madrazo* (born in 1781) was also a pupil of David, and is no better than *Aparicio*. The author of the *Hand-book* tells us to observe his “Death of Viriatus” and “Ferdinand VII. on Horseback,” worse if possible than the former. The subject of another picture is “Divine and Profane Love,” “which partakes considerably of the latter quality in conception and execution. All who have studied the works of David, or even of his Italian analogists, Benvenuti and Camuccini, must be struck with the inferiority of these, their Spanish imitators, both in drawing, colour, and composition.”†

*Francisco Bayeu* and *Francisco Goya* came from Aragon to Madrid, and became *pintores de cámara* to Charles III. and Charles IV., as well as directors of the

\* Ford's *Hand-book*, p. 748.

† *Ibid.*

Royal Academy of St. Ferdinand. The former died in 1795, the latter in 1828. The works of Bayeu, and of his contemporary, *Maella* (1739—1819), are “feeble and commonplace.” Goya was the brother-in-law of Bayeu, and a man of far more power in every way; he lived to be first painter to Ferdinand VII. Cean Bermudez says, “He was a master of great originality and of extraordinary genius and imagination; skilled as well in the management of colour and the brush, as in that of the burin, aquafortis, and the lithographic stone; his effects in scenes of common life are inimitable for their surprising truth and force.”\* His etchings are exceedingly clever, though both in these and in his pictures neither his choice of subjects nor his selection of models was such as would have exactly conformed to the rules of old Pacheco †.

I shall close this account of the Spanish school with an extract from the very interesting letters of Madame Calderon de Barca, in which she says—

“In some of the convents,” (that is, in Mexico,) “there still exist, buried alive like the inmates, various fine old paintings; amongst others, some of the Flemish school, brought to Mexico by the monks at the time when the Low Countries were under Spanish dominion.

“Many masters also of the Mexican school, such as *Enriquez*, *Cabrera*, &c., have enriched the cloisters with their productions, and employed their talent on holy subjects, such as the lives of the saints, the martyrs,

\* See Cean Bermudez, *Minaño*, vol. x.

† Compare Ford's *Hand-book*, pp. 254, 748.

and other Christian subjects. Everywhere especially there are *Cabreras*, an artist somewhat in the Luca Giordano style; the same monotony, frivolity, and '*fa presto Luca!*' All his pictures are agreeable and some strikingly beautiful; occasionally he copies from the old masters, but rarely. *Ximenes* and *Enriquez* are not so common, and some of their productions are very good, and deserve to be better known than I imagine they are in Europe. They are a branch of the Spanish school, and afford striking proofs of the extraordinary talent of the Mexicans for the fine arts, as well as of the facility which the mother country afforded them." \*

The authoress again tells us—"We particularly admired some fine paintings, chiefly by *Cabrera*, and especially a Madonna and Child, in which there is that most divine expression in the face of the Virgin—the blending of maternal love with awe for the divinity of the child." †

\* Life in Mexico, London, 1843, p. 222.

† This was at Valladolid, or Morelia, as it is called now, from the Cura Morelos, one of the revolutionary leaders. Life in Mexico, p. 407.

# SKETCH

OF THE

## HISTORY OF FRENCH PAINTING.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS—KING RENÉ—PAINTERS BEFORE N. POUSSIN.

THE condition of art under Charlemagne and his immediate successors has been discussed in the Hand-book of the German School, and cannot at any rate properly be included in a sketch of French painting\*. Nor can the works of Giotto and Simone di Martino, (or Memmi, as he is called by Vasari †,) at the court of Avignon, be considered as affecting the French school. Vasari, indeed, tells us, "Clement V. having been soon afterwards created pope at Perugia, after the death of Benedict IX.,

\* Kugler's Hand-book of German and Flemish Schools, p. 3; compare Waagen's Paris, s. 246.

† There is little doubt that Vasari has named this artist wrongly. In no one of the records of Siena does he appear by the name of Memmi: a picture now at Florence, executed by him and Lippo Memmi, describes the joint artists as *Simon Martini et Lippus Memmi de Senis*. See Rumohr, *Italien. Forschungen*, ii. s. 95.

Giotto was obliged to accompany the pope to Avignon, whither he conducted his court, in order to execute certain works there. Having gone thither, he painted many pictures and frescos of great beauty, not only in Avignon, but in many other places of France, which gave infinite pleasure to the pope and his court\*. Simone di Martino was sent to Avignon by Pandolfo Malatesti to paint the portrait of Petrarch, and when there, at the request of the latter, he executed a likeness of Laura†. We have, however, no record of any influence exercised by these productions on French art.

With regard to the compositions themselves, Lord Lindsay, speaking of Giotto, says, "He executed many works there, of which the sole vestiges are the frescos in the chapel of the Inquisition, woefully dilapidated.

\* *Vita di Giotto*. Lord Lindsay observes that Giotto might have paid a first visit to Avignon in or after 1309, the year when Pope Clement first settled there.—"But, in that case," he adds, "he must have returned thither many years afterwards, in the reign of John XXII., for it was that pope, and not Clement, who laid the foundation of the Papal Palace in 1319, and the walls could not have been ready for the painter before 1323. Vasari, in fact, himself intimates, in the *Life of Andrea Pisano*, that Giotto was working for the pope at Avignon three years before 1330, i. e. in 1327; and as it was in that year, as we shall find, that Giotto visited Naples, we may safely fix his residence at Avignon during the two or three years previous." The author then states truly that Petrarch's intimacy with Giotto confirms this view, for Petrarch was born in 1304, and returned from Bologna to Avignon in 1324, where he resided till 1335. "That Giotto," he adds, "did in verity work at Avignon, is proved by the testimony of the contemporary commentator on Dante, quoted by Vasari in his *Life of Cimabue*."—Lord Lindsay's *Sketches of Christian Art*, ii. p. 242, note.

† *Vita di Simone e Lippo Memmi*.

Our Saviour's baptism, his Conversation with the Woman of Samaria, the Repulse of Theodosius by St. Ambrose from the door of the cathedral of Milan after the massacre of Thessalonica, St. Louis encamped in Egypt, with the Pyramids in the distance, and a Group of soldiers leading a condemned heretic to the stake, are subjects still recognisable; some of the costumes are very rich and characteristic, and many of the figures beautiful. But time, neglect, and violence have almost totally effaced them."\*

Dr. Waagen, in his volume on Paris, has published some interesting notices of the manuscripts of the French school of illuminators, executed in the latter half of the fifteenth century. It will be a fitting introduction to the history of French painting, if I translate or give the substance of so much of the information afforded by him as illustrates the relation of the artists of this class to their brethren in Italy and in the Low Countries†. The miniatures which bear date between 1450 and 1500 go to show that painting had attained a high degree of cultivation, and that the free imitation of antique ornament which characterizes the style commonly called that of the "*Renaissance*," had already begun to prevail from the year 1460.

The relations of France to Italy on the one hand, and

\* Lord Lindsay's *Sketches of Christian Art*, ii. p. 242.

† Waagen's *Paris*, ss. 369—398. The reader will bear in mind that the details in the text are given on the authority of Waagen—not on that of the author of this volume. I have the less scruple in borrowing from Professor Waagen, because I believe his interesting volume on Paris has never been translated into English.

to Flanders on the other, were such as to cause the painting of both countries to exercise a favourable influence on the French school; whilst the style of art which resulted from these influences is inferior, indeed, to that of Italy or the Low Countries in originality, it yet, in a considerable degree, unites the excellences of both. In life, in truth, and in variety, derived from the study of nature, the French were not equal to the Flemings; but they show more style in arrangement, more feeling in the flow of their lines, and a better taste in the drapery and ornaments. With reference to these last points they were indeed surpassed by the Italians, but on the other hand they were superior to the latter in the application of perspective to represent space, whether in architecture or landscape. The tone of the flesh in the French miniatures is somewhat uniform. The principal outlines are made with a pen in a light tint, and then filled up in water-colour laid on thickly: the light and shade is for the most part carefully put in with fine and somewhat meagre lines or hatchings. In some of the later manuscripts the execution is broader and freer. The surface of the colours is dull and apparently without gum, but it has stood admirably—occasionally in the landscape a cold verdigris-green predominates in a manner which is not agreeable; the borders are filled up sometimes in the manner of the Flemish artists, and sometimes in that of the Italians; the effect is rich and the execution masterly, but inferior to the Flemish works in clearness and brightness, and to those of the Italians in precision and style.

Two schools may be distinguished as existing con-



temporarily: at the head of one of these was the court painter of Louis XI., *Jean Fouquet* of Tours.

Some of his miniatures are to be found in the manuscript of a French translation of Josephus, at the end of which is the following notice of Francis Robertet, secretary of Peter II. of Bourbon, the husband of Anne, daughter of Louis XI. "*Icy le livre a douze ystories. Les troyx premieres de l'enlumineur du Duc Jean de Berry et les neuf de la main du bon peintre et enlumineur du Roy Loys XI., Jehan Fouquet, natif de Tours.*" The three first appear to be the work of a Flemish artist, and are extremely good. With regard to those which follow, their style is very different, but the feeling of an artist is so clearly visible, and the style and taste are so pure, that it might be inferred from them the painter had executed works on a larger scale; this we know to be the fact from one of the wings of an altar-piece containing the portrait of Etienne Chevallier, treasurer of Charles VII. of France, which is in the possession of Herr Georg at Frankfort-on-Main\*. This is without doubt the reason why Fouquet is called by Robertet "*peintre et enlumineur.*" Fouquet's attitudes are, for the most part, graceful and free, but sometimes, especially when violent action is represented, there is something awkward in them. The faces have an uniform brownish tone: the cast of the drapery is sometimes grand and sometimes stiff: here and there it resembles

\* Herr Brentano possesses forty miniatures from a prayer-book, which appear to be by Fouquet: one miniature from the same book is in the possession of Mr. Samuel Rogers. See Waagen's *England*, i. s. 415.

the "naturalist" style of the Flemings. The animals, especially horses, are well designed, and the perspective and chiaroscuro are often far more successful than in most works of the same date. It is evident from the number of manuscripts with illuminations in this style that Fouquet had many followers\*.

The other school is inferior in many respects: their composition is not equal to that of Fouquet; the heads are more uniform and not so well drawn: on the whole Flemish influence is more clearly visible. The celebrated Prayer-book of Anne of Brittany belongs to this class, and may be considered as the principal specimen of the style. These miniatures were probably executed before the year 1500.

Some mention should be made of the royal artist, *René of Anjou*. The chivalrous qualities of his race seem to have been wanting in him, and to have accumulated for the benefit of his daughter Margaret, the wife of our Henry VI.: he was so devoted to the fine arts that it is said he was painting a partridge when the loss of the kingdom of Naples was announced to him, and did not even take his hand from the picture†. Mr. Eastlake says, "Several examples are preserved; the latest and best is in the cathedral of Aix, and all are more or less in the style of the Van Eycks—a taste which René may have acquired during his three years' captivity at Dijon and Bracon between the years 1431 and 1436. Passavant (*Kunst-*

\* A proof of this fact may be found in the illuminations referred to by Waagen, *Deutschland*, i. s. 386.

† See the passage from Mathieu, *Histoire de Louis XI.*, quoted by Bayle, *Dict.*, art. Naples, note DΔ.

blatt, 1843, No. 57), speaking of one of these examples, at Villeneuve near Avignon, says that it is painted in tempera, over which varnish colours are glazed. King René's chief practice was in illuminating, and it seems that his larger pictures are hatched with the point of the brush in the manner of the early Italian tempera painters. The royal artist's mode of painting was thus an approach only to the improved system of the Van Eycks, and his partial adoption of their process is explained by his being unable to divest himself of the habits of miniature and missal painting."\*

The picture at Aix consists of a centre and two shutters; the former shows on one side Moses on the ground taking off his shoes; on the other is an angel, and above is the burning bush with the Virgin and Child appearing in the midst of it†. Sheep are feeding around, and there is a landscape back-ground: over all is a sort of canopy with the figure of God the Father. On the left-hand shutter is the portrait of King René himself, kneeling with St. Maurice, St. Antony, and the Magdalen; on the right hand is Jeanne de Laval, his second wife, likewise with three saints. Another picture of René's was in the Chartreuse at Villeneuve-les-Avignon; it is now in the Hospital‡. Montaigne tells

\* Eastlake's *Materials for a History of Oil-painting*, p. 216.

† The notion of the whole is shown by the inscription below the principal picture—" *Rubrum quem viderat Moyses incombustum conservatam agnovimus tuam laudabilem virginitatem, Sancta Dei Genitrix.*"

‡ See the great work—*Œuvres complètes du Roi René, avec une biographie et des notices par M. Le Comte de Quatre-barbes, et un grand nombre de dessins et ornements d'après les tableaux et manuscrits originaux, par M. Hawke, 4 vols. 4to. Angers, 1845.*

us, "Je vis un jour à Bar-le-duc, qu'on présentait au Roy François Second, par recommandation de la mémoire de René, Roy de Sicile, un portrait qu'il avoit luy-mesme fait de soy." \*

René was born in 1408, and died at the age of 72, in 1480. Bayle sums up his character by saying, that he was fitter to make a quiet state happy than to reduce rebel subjects, and gave more time to painting than he employed in preparing expeditions to conquer his titular kingdoms of Naples and Jerusalem.

The history of French painting, properly so called, cannot be said to commence until the reign of Francis I. (1515—1547.) It may be doubtful whether Leonardo expired in the arms of that monarch, but it is certain that he was employed by him, and that he died in France †. If Andrea del Sarto returned to Florence, and was faithless to the oath which he swore on the Gospels, it was not the fault of his royal patron; his pupil, *Andrea Sguazzella*, remained in France and painted in the style of his master ‡. In 1530 *Rosso*, or "*Maître Roux*," as the French call him, worked at Fontainebleau; he employed under him *Luca Penni*, the brother of "*il Fattore*," *Lionardo Fiamingo*, *Bartolom-*

\* Montaigne, *Essais*, livre ii. chap. 17.

† See the late edition of Vasari, note 50, *Vita di Lionardo*. Leonardo's will is dated at Cloux, near Amboise, April 23, 1518. The French court was, on the 1st of May, at St. Germain en Laye; and Francesco Melzi, in the letter announcing the artist's death to his brothers, takes no notice of the king's presence—a fact which he most assuredly would not have omitted; compare Leonardo da Vinci, von Hugo Grafen v. Gallenberg, ss. 157, 266.

‡ Vasari, *Vita di Andrea*; compare notes 61, 67.

*meo Miniati, Francesco Caccianemici, and Gio. Battista da Bagnacavallo.* Rosso killed himself in 1541 \*. In 1531 *Francesco Primaticcio*, of Bologna, was placed by the Duke of Mantua in the service of Francis I., and completed the gallery at Fontainebleau which Rosso had left unfinished. Primaticcio received preferment of every kind at the hands of Francis, and continued to serve his successors, Henry II. and Francis II. *Jacopo Pacchiarotto*, of Siena, was another Italian master of great eminence, who, in 1535, visited France, but we know little of what he did there †. At any rate he did greater justice to the recommendation of Primaticcio than *Niccoló Abati*, or *Niccoló da Modena*, as he is called by Vasari ‡.

The works of this school of Fontainebleau experienced an unhappy fate: many of the frescos were ruined in the civil wars under Henry III., and in 1738 the fifty-eight scenes from the *Odyssey*, as well as the fifteen frescos on the ceiling of the great gallery, executed by Primaticcio and Niccoló Abati, were finally destroyed for the purpose of erecting some apartments to accommodate the court §! Francis I. did not confine

\* Vasari, *Vita del Rosso*. This Bagnacavallo was the son of Bartolommeo Ramenghi da Bagnacavallo, by whom is the fine picture in the Dresden Gallery.

† Waagen's *Paris*, s. 18.

‡ Vasari, *Vita di Primaticcio*.

§ Waagen's *Paris*, ss. 30. 49. Algarotti saw the work of destruction going on. See Algarotti, *Opere*. Venezia, 1792, viii. pp. 12, 13. The designs from the *Odyssey* were engraved by Theodore van Thulden, a pupil of Rubens, and published in 1633; they are very mannered. To show the enormous number of works executed at this

his patronage to painting: he brought Benvenuto Cellini to Paris, and in 1540 sent Primaticcio to Rome for the purpose of buying marbles and procuring casts from the most celebrated antiques. Jean Goujon is a sculptor who does the highest honour to French art of this period.

*Jean Cousin*, born at Soucy, near Sens, in 1462, may be called the founder of the French school. He flourished under Henry II., Henry III., and Charles IX., and wrote a book on the proportions of the human body which is said to be good of its kind. Cousin's principal work—the Last Judgment—is now in the Louvre; it came from the sacristy of a convent at Vincennes, and was engraved by P. de Jode. It is amusing to see the different estimates taken of the merits of this picture: Gault de St. Germain speaks of it as showing the germ of those qualities which were to distinguish the national school, and which “give the lie to that character of frivolity often cast as a reproach on the whole nation.” On the other hand, Waagen, in whose judgment I have more confidence, calls it “a mass of confusion which reminds us of Franz Floris; here and there,” he says, “the motives are good and the details are well drawn, and very carefully executed in a warm tone.” This Last Judgment forms the subject of a painted window in St. Romain at Sens. Cousin was also a sculptor\*.

time in France, Waagen states the fact that the prints belonging to the “École de Fontainebleau,” in Mariette's collection, were no less than 640 in number. Paris, s. 29.

\* Compare Gault de St. Germain, *Trois siècles de la Peinture*, pp. 17—19; Waagen's *Paris*, ss. 637, 638.

In the Museum at Avignon is a picture moderately painted, bearing the name of *Simon de Challons*, with the date 1550.

*Francois Clouet*, surnamed *Janet*, painted in a very different style from the last master. He worked between 1540 and 1560. The conception of his portraits resembles that of Holbein, or perhaps of the Flemish masters; but he is not equal to either in his treatment of the flesh; whilst nothing can exceed his minuteness. In the Louvre there is a picture of a court ball, and another of the marriage ceremony between Anne de Joyeuse and Margaret of Lorraine; besides small full-length portraits of Henry II., Charles IX., Michel de l'Hôpital, and three others. At Hampton Court we have an excellent picture of Francis II. when a boy, which was in King Charles's collection; another of a nobleman, supposed by Mrs. Jameson to resemble the Earl of Surrey, and a third called Mary Queen of Scots, repainted all over\*. A small portrait of Janet's is to be seen in the Duke of Sutherland's collection, and three more are at Althorp, but the collection of eighty-eight drawings in red and black chalk, at Castle Howard, must be most interesting. Waagen says that almost all the men are handsome and all the women ugly! Lord Carlisle has also a portrait of Catharine of Medicis, by this master†.

\* See Mrs. Jameson's *Public Galleries*, ii. pp. 344, 345. Waagen's *England*, i. s. 390. The portrait of Eleanor, sister of Charles V. and wife of Francis I., in the same collection, is very fine, and has been attributed to Janet.

† See Waagen's *England*, ii. ss. 62. 412, 413. 541. With reference to the pictures at Althorp, compare Passavant's *Kunstreise*, s. 192.

*Toussaint Dubreuil* painted at Fontainebleau after the death of Primaticcio; he died in 1604. *Martin Freminet* was born at Paris in 1567, and died in 1619; he was the pupil of his father; afterwards having studied in Italy, he became the first painter of Henry IV., and executed the ceiling of the chapel of Fontainebleau in the reign of Louis XIII., who conferred on him the order of St. Michael\*.

Louis XIII. was not himself a collector of works of art, but his mother, Mary of Medicis, caused the grand series of pictures now in the Louvre to be painted by Rubens. They were destined for the Luxemburg, and were placed there in 1625. Cardinal Richelieu also collected antiques and pictures; among the latter were many fine Poussins, which at a later period became part of the Royal Collection†.

*Simon Vouet* was born at Paris in 1582; he was taken by M. de Sancy to Constantinople, and afterwards passed fourteen years in Italy: here he was received into the Academy of St. Luke, and led the way in establishing a new French school. His tendency was decidedly naturalist; Caravaggio and Guido both influenced him, and produced a master whose pictures have great force and vigour, though they are far from pleasing. One of his compositions (No. 313) in the Louvre is supposed to contain the portraits of himself and of Corneille. Waagen says of it, "This picture, painted in his first manner, is distinguished by the spirit of the heads, and by a colouring which is powerful and clear, though often false."‡

\* Gault. de St. Germain, p. 20. † Waagen, Paris, ss. 33—38.

‡ Ibid. s. 640.



Of the Presentation in the Temple, he tells us that the execution is careful, but ideal heads, like those of Guido, are joined to forms more awkward and less expressive. Another picture in the Louvre is the Entombment of Christ by two Angels in presence of the Virgin, St. John, and the Magdalen; the colour is transparent, the draperies carefully painted, and the lights bright and glowing. There is, moreover, in the gallery a portrait of Vouet's patron, Louis XIII. The artist died in 1648, not, as has been asserted, in 1641\*.

*Jacques Blanchard* was born at Paris in 1600, and died in 1638; he studied the Venetian school, so as at one time to have been called the French Titian—a phenomenon, I may venture to say, not yet seen. In the Louvre may be found a Charity, a Holy Family, and a picture of the Virgin and Child with St. Anne by this master. Gault de St. Germain treats him as full of affectation and sameness in his heads and attitudes, but he seems to have been one of the very few French artists who attended to colour†.

*Quintin Varin*, a native of Amiens, enjoys no glory at the present day, except that of having been the first instructor of the artist who bears the most illustrious name in the whole French school—*Nicolas Poussin*—of whom I shall speak in the next chapter.

\* See *Biographie Universelle*; Vie de Poussin, p. 568.

† Gault de St. Germain, p. 24; compare Waagen, Paris, s. 670. In this latter work, probably by a misprint, his death is placed in 1623.

## CHAPTER II.

## NICOLAS POUSSIN AND EUSTACHE LESUEUR.

NICOLAS POUSSIN was born at Andely, in Normandy, in 1594. After Varin he had as teachers Ferdinand Elle, of Mechlin, and Lallemant, but his most profitable studies were those which he made after engravings from the works of Raphael and Giulio Romano. Among his very earliest pictures were two which he painted for the Capuchins of Blois\*. He made two attempts to reach Rome, in the first of which he got as far as Florence; on the second occasion he only reached Lyons, and was there reduced to pay his debts by his pencil. Six pictures in distemper, which he executed in 1623 for the College of the Jesuits, attracted the attention of the Italian poet, Marino, who returned to Rome, leaving Poussin to finish a picture of the Death of the Virgin, for the goldsmiths' company. The French artist, however, reached Rome in 1624, and there rejoined his friend; he was then thirty years of age. Marino presented Poussin to the Cardinal Barberini, as it is said, with the singular recommendation, "*vederete un giovane, che a la furia del diavolo.*" Unfortunately for Poussin, Marino left Rome, and shortly afterwards died, whilst

\* Félibien, 4to, ii. p. 312.

the cardinal went on an embassy to Spain ; so that the French artist, without friend or patron, was reduced to dispose of his works for the merest trifle, in order to procure a subsistence : thus two battle pieces, afterwards in the cabinet of the Duc de Noailles, are said to have been sold at seven scudi each \*. At this time he associated with the sculptor Duquesnoy (Fiammingo), in whose house he lodged, and with Algardi. He is said to have studied much from Titian's works, but the result seems to have been that he shrank from the delusive blandishments of the Venetian school, and sought to preserve the severity of his style by carefully avoiding the smallest approach to what can be called colouring. Poussin also profited by the pictures of Domenichino, and contributed by his praises to build up the reputation which the fine picture of the Communion of St. Jerome by that artist has since enjoyed. Whether he judged rightly in placing it on the same level as the works of Raphael, it is scarcely necessary for us now to discuss ; the merit of the Bolognese school in this and others of its best productions is without doubt very great, but it has with as little doubt been exaggerated †.

An interview which took place between Poussin and Domenichino must have been an interesting scene : the latter had heard that a young Frenchman was studying his Martyrdom of St. Andrew with peculiar care, and wished to see him : he was too infirm to walk to the

\* Félibien, 4to, ii. p. 315.

† Compare Bunsen and Platner's Beschreibung v. Rom. B. ii. Abth. 2, s. 482.

church where the fresco was, but caused himself to be carried thither, and conversed with Poussin\*.

Poussin formed his style, however, mainly on the antique. Sir Joshua Reynolds truly says, "Poussin lived and conversed with the ancient statues so long, that he may be said to have been better acquainted with them than with the people who were about him. I have often thought that he carried his veneration for them so far as to wish to give his works the air of ancient paintings. It is certain that he copied some of the antique paintings, particularly the Marriage in the Aldobrandini Palace at Rome, which I believe to be the best relique of those remote ages that has yet been found."† In returning home one night Poussin was assaulted by some soldiers and wounded in the hand; afterwards he suffered from an attack of illness, during which he was received into the family of Dughet. In 1629 he married Anna Maria Dughet, the sister of the landscape-painter who was destined to profit by Poussin's instructions, and to inherit his name.

In 1639 the artist was specially invited by Louis XIII. to return to France, and in the following year he arrived in Paris with Gaspar Dughet. One of the king's carriages brought Poussin from Fontainebleau to Paris, where he was presented to the Cardinal de Richelieu; he was afterwards received at St. Germain by the king, who seems to have thought principally of the disappointment of Vouet at the ho-

\* Gault de St. Germain, *Vie de Poussin*, Didot, 1806, p. 74, n. 23.

† Reynolds, 5th Discourse, *Works*, i. p. 136.

nours shown to a rival; at least he turned to the courtiers and said, "*voilà Vouet bien attrapé.*"\* In March, 1641, Poussin was named first painter in ordinary to the king, although Vouet still retained the title of first painter. In September, 1642, the former obtained leave to revisit Rome, under an engagement, however, to return to France. The death of Cardinal de Richelieu followed soon afterwards, and that of the king in 1643. Under these circumstances the artist afterwards refused to fulfil his engagement, and remained for the rest of his life, where he was most at home—at Rome. He admitted very few persons to his studio, and in 1664 lost his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached; the presentiment of his own death began to press on him, and this event occurred on the 19th of November, 1665, in the 72nd year of his age. He was buried in San Lorenzo in Lucina. He left no children, and his property, which amounted only to 15,000 Roman scudi, was divided in such a manner that one-third went to the family of his wife, and the two-thirds were divided between a niece and nephew of his own.

Poussin holds a place so important, not only in the history of the French school, but in that of art in general, that I must dwell on his works, and on his style, at greater length than may seem in keeping with the rest of this sketch. With reference to the pictures of Poussin in the Louvre the reader will thank me

\* This amiable trait of the king rests on the best authority—that of Poussin himself; see his letter to the Commander Delpozzo. Gault. de St. Germain, *Vie de Poussin*, p. 39.

for translating at length the criticisms of Professor Waagen\*.

“The reddish-brown colour of the flesh, a certain hardness of the outline accompanied by a composition which is sometimes scattered and defective, together with a thinness of colour allowing the red ground to prevail through it, serve in the following pictures to denote the earlier time of Poussin’s residence at Rome. No. 223. Narcissus dwells on his hopeless passion; in the back-ground is seen Echo pining for love of him. No. 224. Flora, drawn in triumph on a car by Cupids, with Mars and others. This picture is almost spoilt by the predominance of the brown ground; it was painted for Cardinal Omodei. No. 204. The Adoration of the Kings. No. 222. A Bacchant: full of cleverness, but in a state similar to that of No. 224. No. 228. Mars, accompanied by Love, descends from his car, drawn by Lions, to Rhea Sylvia, sleeping with Cupids around her. The forms of the Cupids are not very good; the landscape is fine, and its colour is warm. No. 202. The Philistines, having set up the Ark near their own Idols, are smitten with pestilence. The touching incidents in this picture, such, for instance, as that of the father withdrawing his child from the breast of the expiring mother, are occasionally theatrical in effect. The faces have life and variety, the drawing is careful, the flesh tolerably warm in colour, but the keeping has been destroyed by the redness of the ground. Poussin received only 60 scudi for this picture, which was painted in 1630. Richelieu afterwards paid 1000 scudi for it. No. 213. The Virgin ap-

\* Waagen, Paris, ss. 642—651.

pearing to St. James the Elder, on a column of jasper, by the bank of the Ebro\*. The composition is somewhat confused, and the motives exaggerated; the heads rather want expression, and the whole has become dark, with the exception of the warmer lights. It was painted in 1630 for the Low Countries.

"The following pictures appear to belong to the artist's middle period, in which he attracts us by uniting beauty of composition with more expressive heads, and an impasto which is often better than that of his earlier time. No. 201. The Israelites collect the Manna in the Wilderness. The composition is somewhat scattered, but rich, and carefully carried out in detail; the motives are clever, though occasionally over-done, and the heads full of life: the middle ground and foreground have become one mass of reddish brown. This picture was painted, in 1637, for the artist's patron, M. de Chantelou, master of the household to Louis XIII. No. 212. John baptizing the Jews in Jordan: a composition of seventeen figures. This picture unites a clear golden light, and an admirable landscape of a mellow tone, with noble attitudes and incidents, great variety in the heads, and careful execution. No. 229. The Rape of the Sabines: a picture of many figures, but in which the general composition is confused, although there are admirable groups: some of the motives are rather theatrical: most of the faces are too uniform, and are distorted, whilst they want meaning. No. 210. Christ,

\* This is the legend which accounts for the foundation of the Sanctuary of the *Virgen del Pilar* at Saragossa. See Ford's Handbook, p. 960; compare Félibien, 4to, ii. p. 323.

standing in the midst of his disciples, is distributing the bread. In spite of the merit of the composition and drawing, the theatrical attitudes, the want of expression in the heads, the blackness of the shadows, and the brick red tone of the candle-light, make this picture disagreeable. It was painted at Paris, in 1641, as an altar-piece for the church of St. Germain. No. 216. Christ, accompanied by two Angels, appears at the prayer of St. Francis Xavier, and restores to life the daughter of a Japanese. This picture, like the last, was painted in 1641, at Paris, for the Jesuits, and it appears to me the best of all the altar-pieces of Poussin. The style of the composition, and the motives of the figures, are striking and grand; the drawing is fine, and the heads have life and character, whilst the chiaroscuro is decided, and the clear tenderness in the silvery tone of its colour is united with a careful execution. No. 232. Time (Saturn) bears Truth (a female figure) up to Heaven, in defiance of Envy and Calumny. This picture is too theatrical in the attitudes, and not successful in its lines; but the forms are in other respects more than commonly graceful, whilst the effect of air is unusually fine and harmonious in its silver-like tone. It was executed in Paris in 1642. No. 221. The Infant Bacchus, with Ino and other Nymphs and Fauns around him, is nourished by a Faun with the juice of the grape. It is a pity that this beautiful composition, full as it is of the happiest ideas, and painted with a masterly breadth of touch, should have become so brown. No. 198. The Finding of Moses: a composition containing ten female figures. The noble landscape, with the Nile, is the



only part that has not become brown—a result the more to be lamented, because the arrangement, the ideas, even the heads, with the exception of one or two, which betray too clearly the imitation of the antique, are among the best which this master has produced. It was painted in 1647, for Pointel, in Paris. No. 227. Angelus and Androclides having saved the young Pyrrhus with his attendants, are keeping off the Molossians, whilst the women and a third man are looking to the aid of the Megarians on the other side of the river. In this picture, again, the dramatic cleverness of the story, the masterly drawing, and the breadth of the execution, make us lament the more the fact, that the reddish-brown tint of the ground has worked its way through the colour. No. 226. A Shepherd, kneeling before a Tomb, reads the inscription engraved upon it, ‘*Et in Arcadiâ ego.*’ An expression of serious melancholy, caused by the purport of the inscription, is expressed in the faces of two other shepherds, and in that of a young shepherdess. This celebrated picture comes fully up to its reputation. It is a noble pastoral, in which the mutability of all earthly things is suggested in the finest and most touching manner: the present generation, in all the freshness of youth, are warned, by the recollection of their fellows already departed, to think on the future which awaits themselves. The flow of the lines, and the different motives of the group, are excellent; the drapery is very good, and the whole is carried out with the most thorough feeling; the tone of the flesh is warm and clear; the grand and simple landscape is tinged with the golden glow of evening. All this, added

to the fact that the solid impasto of the colour has preserved the keeping of the parts, makes the general impression produced by this picture thoroughly harmonious and satisfactory. No. 214. The Virgin, borne up by four Angels, ascends to Heaven. The feeling of the heads is fine, with the exception of that of the principal figure, which wants expression. The action is rather too lively, but the picture is carried out with a colouring of more than ordinary power, and the landscape, lighted up as it is by an evening sun, is excellent and poetical. No. 225. In the foreground of a mountainous landscape, on the banks of the Peneus, some maidens are listening to the song of Orpheus, whilst Eurydice, in search of flowers, is bitten by an adder. This noble picture is equally striking with that just mentioned, which it resembles and fully equals in excellence. We see how, in the midst of repose and pleasure, a fearful calamity bursts in with the rapidity of lightning. The landscape is finely composed, and the light of the setting sun is broken in a picturesque manner by clouds, whilst a cool and juicy depth of tone produces an impression of melancholy repose of the most sublime kind, such as harmonizes incomparably well with the lines and colour of the figures.

“Throughout Poussin's later period he maintained the same excellence in composition, and almost always laid his colour on with a better impasto; but, on the other hand, heads without expression, and monotonous in their imitation of the antique, then prevail, so as to diminish the interest of his works. The following pic-

tures in the Louvre belong to this time:—No. 196. Eliezer presents Rebecca, who has given him to drink, with an ear-ring and bracelets: five of her companions take part in what is passing, whilst seven more are occupied at some distance. This picture will always have great value on account of the beauty of the composition, the purity of the drawing and the drapery, and the beautiful silvery tone of the morning landscape; however much we may be offended at the want of expression, and at the direct imitation of the antique in the heads, with their peculiar eyes and drooping eyelids. Moreover the blue and red of the draperies are too strong, and destroy the harmony of the picture, which was painted in 1648, for Pointel. No. 231. A mountainous landscape, with rich foliage, in which there is a lake, and, as a figure, Diogenes throwing away his shell, on seeing a countryman drink from his hand. The tone of this most poetical landscape is cool and silvery; the figures are full of life in their expression and action. It was painted in 1648, for the Duc de Lumaque. No. 203. The Judgment of Solomon; a picture containing eleven figures. The style of the composition is fine, the execution is careful, and the tone juicy and harmonious, but for the effect of the red and blue drapery; all this, however, cannot make up for the distorted heads and the theatrical character of the attitudes. It was painted in 1649, for Mons. d'Harlay. No. 215. St. Paul, in ecstasy, is borne aloft by three Angels—a picture of great merit, if it were not for the disagreeable lines of the arms and legs, since the heads are fine and full of life, whilst the execution is carried

out with especial clearness and care, in a bright golden tone of colour \*. It was painted for Scarron, in 1649. No. 207. Christ, accompanied by Peter, John, and James, heals the two blind men of Jericho, who kneel before him: two other persons stand by. Perhaps of all Poussin's works of the later time, this one is the most satisfactory. The composition is peculiarly successful; the pathos not exaggerated; the drawing of the figures and the drapery is admirable in taste; the heads have variety, and are full of life and dignity; at the same time, the light and shadow is decided in its character, and the golden tone of the colouring is at once powerful and harmonious; the impasto is excellent, and the character of the landscape rich and poetical. This picture was painted in 1650, for the merchant Raynou, at Lyons. No. 234. Poussin's own likeness, almost a front-face, the left hand leans on a drawing-book. It bears the inscription, 'Effigies Nicolai Poussini, Andeleijensis Pictoris, anno ætatis 56; Romæ, anno Jubilæi 1650.' The portrait is finely treated, and the tone of the colour is warm, though subdued, and in the shadows rather dark; the execution is careful. The figure of a woman on a picture in the background, has in a peculiar degree the faults mentioned with reference to No. 196. This portrait was painted for M. de Chantelou.

\* The reader will bear in mind that this is Waagen's description, not mine. The original German is "die Malerei im hellsten Goldton besonders klar und fleissig." I think Waagen's criticisms generally excellent; but in using such expressions with reference to the colours of any Poussin, he must have employed them with relation to other pictures of the same master—not absolutely. One could not say more of a Giorgione.

No. 297. Thermutis, with two attendants, is looking at the little Moses, whom a man standing in the water gives over to a young woman. The forms and lines are fine; the soft golden tone of colour is harmonious, and the decided masses of light and shade produce more effect than usual; but it is to be lamented that the heads are particularly poor and devoid of expression. It was painted in 1650, for Mons. Raynou. No. 209. The Woman taken in Adultery is kneeling before Christ, whilst most of her accusers are shrinking from the reproof of the Saviour. The action is full of life, and the story is told with clearness and variety, though not without exaggeration; the drawing and the drapery show much study; the background has a tender silver tone, and the rest of the colouring is clear, but the keeping is disturbed by the strong red and blue draperies: the faces, however, with their eyes and mouths wide open, are more than usually like masks, and devoid of meaning. This picture was painted for Le Nostre, in 1653. No. 211. Sapphira punished with death for having lied unto God—has the same excellences and defects as the last picture; but the recollection of Raphael's celebrated cartoon of the death of Ananias and Sapphira is a disadvantage to it. It was painted for M. Fornant de Vegnes. No. 205. The Infant Saviour, on the lap of the Virgin, is caressing the little St. John, held by Elizabeth: Joseph stands by. The motives are good, but they cannot compensate for the want of expression, and for the coldness of the heads, or for the want of harmony in the colour. Even the landscape, fine as it

is, is, with the exception of the sky, heavy. The picture was painted in the year 1656.

“I come now to the four landscapes known as the Four Seasons, the figures of which represent sacred subjects: they were begun in 1660, but were not finished till 1664. No. 217. Spring: Adam and Eve in Paradise, surrounded by beasts of all kinds. The landscape is well wooded and beautiful; the soft light is that of evening, and the green has an unusual freshness; the grey tone of the figures shows that the artist had got old. No. 218. Summer: in a large corn-field many figures are occupied in cutting, tying up, and treading out the grain: in the foreground Boaz gives the order to allow Ruth, who is kneeling before him, to go on gleaning. A delicate silvery tone is preserved throughout this picture, but the corn-field gives a sameness to it; the beauties and defects of the figures remind us of the Eliezer. No. 219. Autumn: the two Israelite Spies are carrying along on a staff the great bunch of grapes, in a rich and fruitful landscape, finely composed. The treatment is broad, and the tone silvery, but somewhat uniform and heavy. No. 220. Winter—represented by the Deluge. The dark and gloomy scene is feebly illumined by a flash of lightning, whilst the few survivors of the human race still make the last ineffectual struggles to escape from the general destruction. On a mountain which yet lifts its head above the flood, lies the Old Serpent, the original cause of sin and death. The Ark, floating in the distance, preserves the only hopes of renewed life. A fine gloomy feeling pervades the composition, and single

figures are full of effect and meaning: the tone, on the other hand, is too heavy and opaque.

“The following pictures were not visible:—No. 199. Moses trampling on the Crown of Pharaoh. No. 209. Moses changing Aaron's Staff into a Snake (both painted for the Cardinal Massimi). No. 206. A Holy Family, executed for the Duke de Crequi. No. 230. Camillus sends back the Schoolmaster to Falerii (painted in 1637, and formerly in the Hôtel de Toulouse). No. 233. Children at Play. I hold No. 208—Children at Play—to be an old copy.”

I must now direct the reader's attention to the best known works of N. Poussin which are in this country.

There are eight pictures by this master in the National Gallery; and in no collection—not even in the Louvre—can he be seen to greater advantage. The Dance of Bacchanals\*, with the Satyr kissing the Nymph, is one of those subjects in which the artist particularly excelled. The forms are beautiful and true; the composition and drawing equal to those in any of his works; the character is antique, and the treatment of the whole composition just such a modification of the principle of bas-relief, as brings it legitimately within the province of painting: thus, the uniform tone of the colour is not on the whole injurious to the effect. Waagen praises the handling, and the careful execution. This picture was once in the collection of M. de Calonne, and afterwards in that of Lord Kinnaird, from whom it

\* No. 62. Mrs. Jameson's Public Galleries.

was bought by Mr. Hamlet. In 1826 he sold it to the National Gallery, with Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne, and the Christ and St. Peter of A. Caracci, for 7,000*l*.\* Another Bacchanalian scene of Poussin's, in the same collection, is extremely fine; it will be recognized by the contest between a female centaur and a faun mounted on an ass. Waagen considers it as inferior to the former picture, on account of the manner in which the lines of the composition cut one another. It was painted for Cardinal Barberini†. Lord Ashburnham is the owner of two very fine Bacchanalian pieces of a similar character and quality. The Nursing of Bacchus, together with the Cephalus and Aurora, was bequeathed to the nation, in 1831, by Mr. Cholmondeley, who had paid 690 guineas for the latter picture. A fine landscape was presented to the Gallery by Sir George Beaumont, and the Sleeping Nymph and Satyrs was left by Mr. Holwell Carr.

A picture, however, of Poussin's in the same collection, which claims special notice, is that of Phineus and his followers turned into stone, by Perseus presenting to them the Gorgon's head. Sir Joshua Reynolds speaks thus of it‡:—"This is undoubtedly a subject of great bustle and tumult, and that the first effect of the picture

\* Smith's Catalogue Raisonné, No. 221. Compare Waagen's England, i. s. 216.

† Mrs. Jameson (Public Galleries, No. 42) says that it was executed with Lord Ashburnham's pictures for the Duc de Richelieu. The statement in the text is that adopted by Smith, Catalogue Raisonné, Nos. 211, 212, 213; Waagen's England, i. s. 217; Passavant, Kunstreise, s. 217.

‡ Discourse VIII.



may correspond to the subject, every principle of composition is violated ; there is no principal figure, no principal light, no groups ; every thing is dispersed, and in such a state of confusion that the eye finds no repose anywhere. In consequence of the forbidding appearance I remember turning from it with disgust ; and I should not have looked a second time, if I had not been called back to a closer inspection. I then, indeed, found, what we may expect to find in the works of Poussin, correct drawing, forcible expression, and just character ; in short, all the excellences which so much distinguish the works of this learned painter.

“ This conduct of Poussin I hold to be entirely improper to imitate. A picture should please at first sight, and appear to invite the spectator's attention.”

To the defects mentioned by Sir Joshua may be added the circumstances of a darkened priming, and of those glaring patches of red and blue drapery which stand out as spots in different parts of the picture. Here we see Poussin freed from the guidance of the antique, except as regards the drawing of individual figures ; and, accordingly, we have a foretaste of the exaggerated action and repulsive colour which meet us, after more than a century, in the school of David. The bad qualities of French art appear in full vigour in this work of Nicolas Poussin. Mrs. Jameson speaks of it as, “ in some respects a good study for the incipient amateur ;” and goes on, not perhaps to justify, but to palliate, its defects, on the principle of imitative harmony — “ that is, when the sound is an echo to the sense ; and Poussin has contrived that the tumultuous and startling

effect of his picture should be an echo to the subject, which is all confusion, discord, hurry, horror, and perplexity."\*

I can only say, that the less any amateur, or artist either, educates his eye to like such a picture, the better it will be for art. The excellences spoken of by Sir Joshua only aggravate the enormity of abusing and misapplying such powers as those possessed by the painter. The supposed principle of "imitative harmony" affords no excuse whatever for violating all the conditions of style, which the materials and the essence of his art itself ought to have imposed upon him as a painter.

The Plague of Ashdod, in our National Gallery, is a duplicate of that in the Louvre. The latter is said to have been painted in 1630, for sixty Roman crowns: it afterwards came into the hands of the Duc de Richelieu. The picture in London was executed for the Colonna family, and was presented to the nation by the late Duke of Northumberland.

The most celebrated of Poussin's works in this country are the two sets of the Seven Sacraments. The original series is rather the smaller in size†, and was painted, about 1636, for the Cavaliere del Pozzo. The pictures, however, were not finished at once: that of

\* Mrs. Jameson's Public Galleries, i. p. 102. It is fair to say that the authoress quotes Sir Joshua's unfavourable remarks on this picture, while she seeks to vindicate Poussin.

† According to Mr. Smith's Catalogue Raisonné, the Bridgewater pictures measure 3 feet 10½ inches by 5 feet 8½, 9, or 10 inches. Those belonging to the Duke of Rutland (at least the Extreme Unction) he gives as being 3 feet 3 inches by 5 feet 3 inches. Compare Félibien, ii. p. 326, 351.

Baptism was only sketched when Poussin came to Paris, where he completed it. The second set were executed for M. de Chantelou, and were finished in 1648. The former now belong to the Duke of Rutland, and are at Belvoir. The latter were brought over with the Orleans Gallery in 1798, and were purchased by the Duke of Bridgewater: they are now in the collection of the Earl of Ellesmere. Waagen says, "Confirmation, Marriage, and Baptism, are the finest in point of composition. One of the happiest motives in the last picture is taken from the celebrated cartoon of the Bathing Soldiers, by Michael Angelo. The Baptism and Orders are peculiarly pleasing, from the noble landscapes; but the Communion and Extreme Unction prove that Poussin did not understand the management of night-scenes: the shadows are black, and the effect of the candlelight extraordinarily red and hard."\* This last-named picture was the first of the series executed, having been finished in October, 1644: Marriage was the latest.

Sir Joshua, after describing the degree to which Poussin had imbibed the spirit of antiquity, adds, "Poussin in the latter part of his life changed from his dry manner to one much softer and richer, where there is a greater union between the figures and the ground; as in the Seven Sacraments in the Duke of Orleans's collection; but neither these, nor any of his other pictures in this manner, are at all comparable to many in his dry manner which we have in England†.

The Bridgewater Gallery boasts, moreover, one of

\* Waagen, *England*, ii. s. 334.

† Fifth Discourse, *Works*, i. p. 137.

Poussin's finest works in the Moses striking the Rock, which was painted for M. de Gillier, about 1636, and was valued in the Orleans Collection at 1000 guineas. Another picture by Poussin of the same subject, painted in 1649, for M. Stella, was exported with the Houghton Gallery to Russia, and is now in the Hermitage\*. One of the groups in Lord Ellesmere's picture represents a mother giving her children drink, whilst the father returns thanks to heaven; the study for these figures belongs to the Marquis of Westminster, who also possesses a most exquisite group of children, as well as a very fine Holy Family with Angels, and a remarkable landscape, with the story of Calisto pursued by Arcas. It is impossible to see better specimens of the master than these pictures: the group of children is admirable, even in colour. The Duke of Devonshire has a picture of the same subject as the celebrated one in the Louvre—" *Et in Arcadiâ ego* "—but painted earlier. In the same collection is Jehovah appearing in glory upheld by Angels, a Holy Family, and two Views of the Forum, of Poussin's early time. Waagen speaks of these last as very interesting, on account of the care with which they are executed, and the successful management of the light and shade†. Mr. Rogers is the owner of the landscape called the "*Campagna di Roma*," and of an Adoration of the Shepherds, of which Mrs. Jameson says, "This exquisite picture is a proof that Niccoló Poussin could be, when he chose, a poetical

\* Smith's Catalogue Raisonné, Nos. 29 and 31.

† Waagen's England, i. s. 252; Nos. 326 and 327 of Smith's Catalogue.

and effective colourist."\* In the collection of the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn, is the picture of Moses trampling on the crown of Pharaoh, which was in the Orleans Gallery; the Exposition of Moses, from the same collection, painted in 1654, is at Stow†. The reader will find a good many pictures of Poussin's in the Dulwich Gallery. One of these—the Adoration of the Magi—was painted in 1663, for M. de Mauroy, and is a beautiful work‡. The Nursing of Jupiter, in the same collection—a composition of six figures—was formerly in the collection of M. Blondel de Gagny. The Triumph of David contains more than forty figures, but Waagen speaks of it as particularly deficient in the expression of the heads, and theatrical in its motives. Mrs. Jameson says the imitation of the antique is not only misplaced but exaggerated§. The Flight into Egypt was painted in 1659 for Madame de Montmort, afterwards the wife of M. de Chantelou. At Panshanger there is a portrait of the sculptor, Quesnoy, or as he is commonly called, "il Fiammingo," of which Waagen speaks very highly; the colour of the flesh is good, and the drawing of the hands admirable; it is the more interesting because Poussin painted very few portraits||. Sir Thomas Baring has a

\* Private Galleries, p. 398.

† Smith's Catalogue Raisonné, Nos. 11 and 14; compare Félibien, ii. p. 359.

‡ Mrs. Jameson, however, remarks that this does not agree with Félibien's account, who states that Poussin's last historical picture was executed in 1661. See Public Galleries, ii. p. 491; Smith's Catalogue Raisonné, No. 56; compare Félibien, ii. p. 361; the Adoration of the Shepherds was the picture of 1653.

§ Waagen's England, ii. s. 195; Public Galleries, ii. p. 494.

|| Waagen, England, ii. s. 221.

large landscape with a waterfall of the finest character. The Earl of Radnor's collection contains two pictures—the Departure from Egypt, and the Adoration of the golden calf—of a large size and of a quality such that Waagen says there are few, even in the Louvre, equal to them.\* The celebrated picture of the Plague of Athens is one of the treasures belonging to Mr. Miles at Leigh Court; it was probably executed in the early time of Poussin's residence at Rome; and though some portions, as, for instance, the background to the right, have grown darker in tone, there are few works of the master superior to it†. I can do no more than mention the collections at Burleigh, Holkham, and that formerly at Luton, as containing specimens of Poussin: many others are scattered about in the hands of amateurs in this country, but I fear the reader will think that this catalogue has already reached too great a length.

It remains to say a few words more on the character of Poussin as an artist. We have seen that his adopted country was Italy: he returned to France only on compulsion: at Rome he in fact lived, and at Rome he died. There he drank in the character and tone of the antique, and formed his style on the Aldobrandini marriage and the bas reliefs of ancient sculpture. To such an excess did these principles pervade his mind, that Fuseli has truly said, "Poussin painted basso-relievo:" he adds, "Algardi chiselled pictures."‡ A. W. Schlegel has given us an admirable criticism of this master's Expositi-

\* Waagen, *England*, ii. s. 268.

† *Ibid.* ii. s. 348.

‡ *Aphorisms*, 68; *Knowles's Life*, iii. p. 84.

tion of Moses in the Dresden Gallery\*, in which he points out that in a bas-relief, where the water cannot be represented literally, it is all very well to introduce a river-god to mark the locality; but in a picture such a figure is a violation of those rules of style which are properly deduced from the nature of the material in which the artist works. The personification too in this instance hurts the story: the frail child is no longer cast on the wide waters of the Nile, exposed to the chances of the elements, but it is, as it were, entrusted to a divine foster-father in the shape of a heathen god, who sits there to watch over its fate. Again, where is the boasted accuracy of costume on which Poussin and the French generally pride themselves? the subject is from sacred history—a river-god has nothing to do there: moreover, the scene is Egypt, but the figure and its cornucopia are essentially Roman. This, however, appears to be immaterial to the purists in such matters; all they want is something antique. Yet surely Greek or Roman costumes in Egypt in the days of Moses are as much out of place as the costumes of Paul Veronese in sacred history.

The French painters constantly give us what they think complete classical accuracy, when they, in fact, mingle up in one confused mass a story from Palestine or Greece with the costume of Rome and the sentiment and *minauderies* of the Chaussée d'Antin. An analogous defect necessarily runs through the boasted theory of their dramatic unities. On the supposition that these

\* Die Gemälde. Gespräch, Dresden, 1798; Krit. Schriften, ii. s. 222.

pedantic rules are essential to illusion, and that illusion is the aim and end of the writer, it would become requisite to carry the principle much further. Such a system hampers the artist who has real genius, but it can never give excellence to mediocrity.

It seems as if a consciousness that their artists were liable to exaggerate the horrible and to exceed the limits of pardonable affectation obliged the critics of France to prescribe, both in painting and poetry, the closest adherence to conventional rules. Yet whilst they profess to feel in its full force the maxim,

“Nec coram populo pueros Medea trucidet,”

and whilst they shrink from the death of Desdemona on the stage, they appear to be utterly ignorant of the limits which separate the horrible from the pathetic. The spirit of their modern novels, and of such pictures as the Wreck of the Medusa, by Géricault, or Girodet's Deluge, in which the whole family are pendant from one man who holds by a tree, do not appear to shock them.

Poussin himself cannot escape this reproach; cold and formal in his ordinary works, as if he feared to approach reality nearer than is done by marble, his Martyrdom of St. Erasmus in the Vatican is a striking example of all that is most revolting set forth on the canvas in the full size of life. The entrails of the saint are in the act of being wound out of his body by a windlass round which they are twisted! There never was a picture to which the question of Diderot was more applicable. He asks—“Si tous les tableaux de martyrs,



que nos grands maitres ont si sublimement peints, passaient à une posterité reculée, pour qui nous prendrait-elle ? Pour des bêtes féroces ou des anthropophages." \* The subject is no excuse for the painter : such subjects, as has been well observed, should be treated by the selection of a moment before the horror is complete. " When represented in their reality they produce an impression of shuddering such as the highest perfection of art (a perfection, however, not visible in this picture of Poussin's,) cannot make up for." † According to Félibien this is the only work that Poussin ever signed ; it is, perhaps, the last which one would wish to be so distinguished ‡.

With all this Poussin was a great man, and his pictures have qualities characteristic of the highest genius and the most refined taste. I have thought it worth while to discuss his excellences and his defects at full length, because he is, as it were, the turning-point of the French school. The decorative art of Louis XIV. and the indecent frippery of Louis XV. were both widely different from the principles of his painting ; and though supplanted by these for the moment, he was destined to exercise in later times a most important influence, both for good and evil, on his countrymen.

\* Diderot, *Pensées Détachées sur la Peinture*, Œuvres, x. p. 177.

† Bunsen's *Rom.* ii. Th. 2, s. 434. The reader may refer to Frederick Schlegel's description of the glorious picture of the Martyrdom of St. Agnes (now in the Pitti Palace), and to his remarks on the treatment by the artist of martyrdoms in general.—Werke, Wien, 1823, vi. ss. 120—130.

‡ Félibien, 4to, ii. p. 323.

Waagen applies to him the lines of Goethe on Schiller :—

“ Und fern von ihm, im wesenlosen Scheine  
Lag, was uns alle bündigt, das Gemeine.”

Poussin has been spoken of as a landscape painter in the volume of Kugler relating to the Dutch and German schools, and it is unnecessary to return to the subject here \*. In that department of art he was assuredly a great master, and he assisted in forming the powers of *Gaspar Dughet* ; but it has been commonly said that he had no pupils properly so called. Gault de St. Germain observes with truth that Lebrun, Dufresnoy, Stella, Mignard, and the other French artists at Rome, owed much to his counsel and example. His nephew, to whom he bequeathed his property—*Jean le Tellier*—was, according to the same author, no contemptible painter. The Adoration of the Shepherds, with figures as large as life, bore traces of the lessons derived from a great master, and some good pictures of Le Tellier's were to be seen in the churches of Normandy and in the Museum at Rouen †.

*Francois Perrier* (1590—1650) was a native of Mâcon in Burgundy; he painted the Carthusian cloisters at Lyons, and studied in Italy under Lanfranco. *Jacques Stella* was born at Lyons in 1596, and died at Paris in 1657. At the age of twenty he went to Italy and became a follower of Poussin. On his return to France

\* Hand-book of Painting, Transl. p. 311.

† *Trois siècles de la Peinture*, pp. 28—30.

he was patronized by Richelieu, and received the order of St. Michael: his later works are slighter and more conventional in their character than those of his earlier time. Waagen, speaking of his picture of Minerva with the Muses, in the Louvre, characterizes him as a "very elegant but somewhat cold imitator of N. Poussin."\* The family of Stella produced several artists besides Jacques, one of whom was his brother *François*, who died in 1647, at the age of forty-four†.

*Môise le Valentin* left the school of Vonet to study in Italy, where he died in 1632, having been born at Coulommiers in the year 1600. The French writers treat him as a degenerate countryman, since he left the classic style of Poussin for the naturalist school of Caravaggio. His life was such as to give him the best opportunity for selecting his models from among gamblers or gipsies; and he took them as he found them, with all their defects. His chiaroscuro was powerful, his touch broad and firm, and the impasto of his pictures remarkable, but they are often black in the shadows and spotty in their effect. In the Louvre there are several of his works, and among them two concerts which have considerable merit. His Martyrdom of St. Processus and St. Martinianus in the Vatican is well known. There is a Beheading of St. John in the Sciarra Palace, and a picture of a concert

\* See Gault de St. Germain, p. 32; Waagen, Paris, s. 664.

† The reader may be surprised at the omission of Claude and Gaspar Poussin, but they are fully treated of as landscape painters in the second volume of Kugler's Hand-book.

with three figures in the Lichtenstein collection at Vienna.

*Claude Vignon*, born at Tours in 1590, was another master who began by imitating the style of Caravaggio. He died in 1673. It is said that his pictures are extravagant in their conception and in their forms \*.

It would be most unjust, in an account of the French school, entirely to omit *Jacques Callot*, though he is known by his prints, rather than as a painter. He was born at Nanci in 1593, and died in the same town in 1635. His pictures are rare: in fact, it is not by them that the genius of the master can be felt or appreciated. His life was full of vagabond adventure, and in it he imbibed that knowledge of all the confused mass of human suffering and absurdity which are so singularly set out in his works. The number of his engravings is said to exceed 1500: in the management of the aquafortis and etching needle no one ever surpassed him, nor in force and cleverness of touch; the composition and effect of his works is not technically correct, but their charm consists in the endless variety and truth of the details which he has crammed into them. No corner is unoccupied, and no figure is without its meaning. His beggars are the essence of rags and knavery, and his soldiers handle their matchlocks and turn out their toes with the pedantic foppery of their profession in that day, or they plunder with the eager recklessness which characterized their time. It is impossible for anything to convey a more vivid or a more unpleasant pic-

\* *Gault de St. Germain*, p. 83.

ture of the daily scenes presented by society of a certain class in the seventeenth century than that which is given in his *Miseries of War*. His *Temptation of St. Anthony* is a well-known print of great genius.

The school of Vouet had been much frequented: that artist held the place of superintendent of the royal manufactures of tapestry. He had himself two brothers, *Aubin Vouet* and *Claude Vouet*, who worked as painters. The former painted the chapel of St. Germain en Laye and the cloister of the Old Feuillans in the Rue St. Honoré\*.

*Philippe de Champaigne* was not by birth a Frenchman, having been born at Brussels in 1602; but he belonged essentially to the French school. Many of his works show a strong feeling for nature, and a colouring of considerable force and transparency. His first master was the Flemish landscape painter, Fouquier; but he came to Paris at the age of nineteen. He was intimate with Poussin, and became the friend of Péréfix, Bishop of Rhodéz, as well as of the inmates of Port Royal. His best portrait is that of Arnauld d'Andilly, now in the Louvre, executed in 1650. It is well conceived and highly finished in execution: the tone is warm, and the hand is peculiarly beautiful†. Another portrait of the same great writer, little inferior to this, is at Althorp. In the Louvre there is also, by Philippe de Champaigne, a full length of Cardinal de Richelieu, and another of Louis XIII. crowned by Victory, both of which came from the Hôtel de Toulouse.

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 46.

† Waagen, Paris, s. 652; England, ii. s. 544.

The Last Supper, painted as an altar-piece for the church of Port Royal, is theatrical in its composition and disagreeable in its colour \*. On the other hand, the picture of his daughter—a nun of Port Royal—with Catherine Agnes of the same establishment, to whose prayers she was supposed to owe her recovery, has all the characteristic excellence of the artist's portraits, whilst the expression of the heads is touching and the execution most careful. The artist's own likeness is also very good, but the portrait of a girl (No. 393) shows that he was not always successful even in works of this kind †. Sir Thomas Baring is the owner of a picture of Theseus finding his Father's Sword, in which the composition resembles that of Poussin, but the colouring has the greater force and transparency of the Flemish school ‡.

Philippe de Champaigne died in 1674. His pupil and nephew, *Jean Baptiste Champaigne*, was professor in the Academy of Brussels in 1693.

*Eustache Lesueur* studied under Vouet, whom he most resembled in his early manner; but the simplicity of Poussin exercised a great influence over his style. He was born in 1627 and died in 1655, and never was out of France§. His great work is the well-known series of the life of St. Bruno, now in the Louvre, and originally commenced in 1649, for one of the cloisters of the Char treuse at Paris. These twenty-four pictures were purchased by the crown in 1776, and transferred to Ver-

\* Waagen, Paris, s. 653.

† Ibid. s. 654.

‡ Waagen, England, ii. s. 253.

§ Félibien, ii. p. 460.

sailles. I will translate the observations of Professor Waagen on these celebrated pictures \*. "The single pictures vary much in merit. As the most remarkable I will cite the following :—No. 125, Raymond, a canon of Nôtre Dame, preaches before St. Bruno; full of meaning and dignity; quiet in its motives and expression, and with a softness in the keeping and chiaroscuro: the tone, like that of the rest, is yellowish and transparent. No. 127. The hypocrite Raymond raises himself from his Coffin during the mass for his soul, to the terror of Bruno and the other persons present †. The expression and attitudes are forcible without being exaggerated, and the whole is transparent and sunny, whilst it is effective and in good keeping. No. 129. St. Bruno teaches Theology in the Schools of Rheims. The light in this picture again is bright, and the effect striking: the action is true and expressive. No. 137. Pope Victor III. confirms the foundation of the Carthusian order. The tone of light and of colour is especially warm and powerful; the story is well told. No. 138. St. Bruno receives a number of novices into the order. This is one of the best of the whole series, with reference to composition, dignity in the heads, depth and clearness of tone and warmth of colour. No. 141. St. Bruno refuses the archiepiscopal mitre offered him by Pope Urban II. This is the best of all the set, in re-

\* Waagen's Paris, s. 655.

† In Félibien's dialogue on these pictures, one of the speakers (Pymandre) quietly observes, with respect to the subject of this picture—"Bien des gens ne demeurent par d'accord de la vérité de cette histoire," ii. p. 463.

spect of the depth and juiciness of its colour and chiar-oscuro, as well as the transparency and softness of its execution. The attitude of the pope is dignified; that of St. Bruno is rather theatrical. No. 145. St. Bruno, having confessed, dies in his cell, surrounded by the monks of the order. The expression of the heads, which are fine in themselves and have much variety, is full of feeling and pathos; the figures are well arranged, but the candlelight effect is not true to nature, and the shadows and background are too black. No. 146. St. Bruno departs to Heaven. The lines are not pleasing, but the heads have dignity and expression; the colouring is especially golden in tone; the keeping is good, and the execution careful. One cannot overlook certain recollections of Raphael."

Waagen also remarks particularly an Annunciation (No. 116), and two other pictures in the Louvre (Nos. 123 and 124), which came with it from the Abbey of Marmoutier les Tours; the latter were executed in 1651. The picture of St. Gervasius and St. Protasius commanded to sacrifice to Jupiter was formerly in the church of those saints. The story is well composed; the heads and attitudes have more meaning than is usually the case; the decided light and shade, as well as the warmth of colour, produce considerable effect. Another good specimen, painted in 1650, is St. Paul preaching at Ephesus. This last picture bears the date of 1649.

The Duke of Devonshire has a picture of Lesueur's of the Queen of Sheba before Solomon. The Death of Germanicus, at Leigh Court, is a fine composition.



There are also specimens of this master at Alton Towers and at Burleigh\*.

Frederick Schlegel, in his letters from Paris in 1810, says of Lesueur, that we "find in his works neither the bewildering ostentation of Le Brun nor the affected pedantry of Poussin. He has a feeling, even for colour, and there is generally something full of mind about his works (*etwas seelenvolles*). All this, however, is in the style of the French school; if there is no struggle for theatrical effect, and no exaggeration, but as a contrast to those usual ends an endeavour is made to combine expression and repose, then we find a certain feebleness of outline and of colour."†

I could not properly forbear quoting the opinion of competent critics on the merits of Lesueur; more especially because I must express myself incapable of feeling for this master the enthusiastic admiration which is sometimes professed for him. He has been called the French Raphael—much as Klopstock has been termed the German Milton. The series of the life of St. Bruno has great excellence of a certain kind, but its effect upon me was always analogous to that produced by Young's Night Thoughts when compared with Paradise Lost. The eclectic and imitative principle of the Bolognese school is visible throughout, but with far less success, and in a far less vigorous form.

\* See Waagen's England, i. s. 252; ii. ss. 356. 463. 485. The picture of Alexander and his Physician, formerly in the Orleans Collection, was purchased by Lady Lucas, and probably is now in the collection of Earl de Grey.

† Friedrich Schlegel, Werke, vi. s. 144.

## CHAPTER III.

## EPOCH OF LOUIS XIV.

FRANCIS I. had laid the foundation of a great national collection in the master-pieces of the Italian painters which he had deposited at Fontainebleau. The reign of Louis XIV. was destined to give a different character to art in France; and that prince, under the guidance of Colbert and Lebrun, increased to an enormous extent the store of fine pictures belonging to the crown. He obtained the finest Poussins from the collection of Cardinal Richelieu, as well as many first-rate works from the cabinet of Mazarin; but some of his most important purchases were the pictures of the banker, Jabach of Cologne. Many of these last came from the collection of the unfortunate Charles I. of England. Such were the *St. John the Baptist* of Leonardo, the *Jupiter and Antiope* of Coreggio, and the *Parnassus* of Perin del Vaga. This mass of great works was increased by presents from foreign states; thus, for instance, the large picture of Paul Veronese, now in the Louvre, was a gift from the republic of Venice, in the year 1665. The Flemish school was probably not so well represented in the Royal Collection; at least Louis XIV. himself is said to have ordered some pictures of Teniërs to be taken out of his apartment, with the words "*Qu'on m'ôte ces magots.*" Nothing can be more characteristic of the time, the nation, and the monarch than this

speech. No excellence and no truth to nature could pass current in a homely form ; the universal taste required bombast and pretension, or, at any rate, a decorum regulated by precepts, as strict and as conventional as those prescribing the etiquette of the *Œil de Bœuf*. There are few Frenchmen of any time who would have the courage to say with Diderot, "*J'aime mieux la rusticité que la mignardise ; et je donnerais dix Wateau pour un Téniers.*" \*

Louis XIV. founded the Academy of Painting in 1648, but it did not receive its incorporation by letters patent until 1655. In 1663, at the suggestion of Colbert, he conferred on it a pension of 4000 francs. The shops on the projections of the Pont Neuf were constructed by the government, and the rent produced by them went to support the Academy†. In 1675 the Academy for French Artists, at Rome, was instituted.

The French academicians, it appears, were in the habit of discussing questions of criticism in the arts, and a good instance of this sort of debate is referred to by Sir Joshua Reynolds, who tells us—"In a conference of the French Academy, at which were present Lebrun, Sebastian Bourdon, and all the eminent artists of that age, one of the academicians desired to have their opinion on the conduct of Paul Veronese, who, though a painter of great consideration, had, contrary to the strict rules of art, in his picture of Perseus and Andromeda, represented the principal figure in shade. To this question no satisfactory answer was then given. But

\* *Pensées détachées sur la Peinture*, x. p. 167.

† Gault de St. Germain, p. 59.

I will venture to say, that if they had considered the class of the artist, and ranked him as an ornamental painter, there would have been no difficulty in answering.\* Sir Joshua goes on to say that Paul Veronese was to be considered only as an ornamental painter, and thus excuses him. Is it possible to conceive any thing more ludicrous than such men as Lebrun and Bourdon—good painters in their way—sitting in judgment on the great Venetian artist? and for what crime? Because he had violated a technical rule, no doubt valuable, but valuable only as a mean to an end†. Such a rule as this, like the unities in tragedy, they treated as being in itself one of the objects of art, and elevated it to the rank of a principle. Paul Veronese bears, in his own department of ornamental painting, about the same relation to Lebrun that Virgil does to Claudian. It is not easy to forgive Sir Joshua himself for the low rank in which he places the Venetian painters, whilst he treats the French masters as “a colony from the Roman school.” The former were at least masters of the language in which their art must speak—of colour. But Sir Joshua, in his professorial chair, was much more the slave of conventional rules, than he was, when he held his pencil in his hand and worked on the canvas with that genuine feeling for colour, which he had in a

\* Sir Joshua Reynolds's 4th Discourse, Works, i. p. 93.

† Nothing can be more true than the observation, “Je ne sais si le contraste technique a embelli quelques compositions; mais je suis sûr qu'il en a beaucoup gâté.” Diderot, *Pensées détachées sur la Peinture*, x. p. 192.

great measure imbibed from the very school decried in his discourses.

Versailles is the type of art as it was in its full vigour, during the reign of Louis XIV. : it represents the spirit of pomp and ostentation which characterized his court, just as faithfully as the Escorial does the gloomy magnificence of Philip II. Every thing at Versailles is *grand* in its scale, and in the profusion with which it has been created, but we find neither simple dignity nor natural feeling in its chapel or its gardens, any more than we discover these qualities in the historical works of Lebrun.

*Laurent de Lahire* studied under Vouet, and obtained the patronage of Richelieu and the Chancellor Seguier. Among other works for the government he was employed on designs for tapestry. His pictures are false and mannered, but of those in the Louvre, Waagen prefers the Virgin and Child (No. 80), which somewhat resembles Sasso Ferrato, and a Landscape (No. 84), with a river in which some women are bathing. Lahire was born in 1606, and died in 1656.

*Sebastian Bourdon* was a native of Montpellier, and was born in 1616. He received his first instruction from his father, and it is said that at the age of fourteen he painted the ceiling of a château near Bordeaux. He then visited Italy, and became an imitator of Poussin, though not always of his best time or manner. On his return to France, in his 28th year, he painted the Crucifixion of St. Peter, now in the Louvre, and formerly in Nôtre Dame. Waagen observes of this

picture that the forms are clumsy and unmeaning, the flesh disagreeable from its redness, and the shadows black\*.

Bourdon, being a protestant, found it convenient to leave France for some time, which he spent in Sweden†. Here he painted the portrait of Christina, and became her principal painter; one of his pictures of this sovereign was sold in the Orleans collection, and Nanteuil, in 1654, engraved her portrait after him. He afterwards returned to Paris, and died in 1671‡. His wife was the sister of *Louis du Guernier*, the miniature and enamel painter.

Bourdon's pictures show considerable power, but they are not for the most part pleasing. His *Sacrifice of Noah*, in the Louvre, exhibits manifest imitation of Poussin, and is deficient in keeping, whilst the tone is reddish-brown. *Cæsar at the Tomb of Alexander* is, on the other hand, more successful; the *Taking down from the Cross* is disagreeable, but as a painter of genre and of portraits, he appears to greater advantage. This is not unfrequently the case with French masters of real genius, the moment they get free from the conventional prejudices

\* Waagen, Paris, s. 664.

† Gault de St. Germain (p. 89) very quietly says, "persécuté à la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, il fut du nombre des gens de mérite qui s'expatrièrent." He then goes on to say that the artist returned to Paris in 1663, and died in 1662! The revocation of the Edict of Nantes took place in 1685.

‡ This is the date given by Félibien, ii. p. 532. There is some confusion respecting the date of Bourdon's death; see the note in Fuseli's Pilkington.

of their school, and are able to refer to nature without the intervention of a false medium. Thus, Bourdon's *Halt of Gipsies*, in the Louvre, is well drawn and painted, whilst his own portrait is an excellent picture\*.

This master etched as many as forty plates, among which his *Works of Mercy* are the most celebrated. As a landscape painter he was eminently successful; his works bear the grave and serious character of the landscapes of N. Poussin, and the best specimen of this quality will be found in the *Return of the Ark*, now in our National Gallery. Sir Joshua Reynolds, to whom the picture once belonged, thus speaks of it in his *Discourses*:—"I cannot quit this subject without mentioning two examples which occur to me at present, in which the poetical style of landscape may be seen happily executed; the one is *Jacob's dream*, by Salvator Rosa, and the other the *Return of the ark from captivity*, by Sebastian Bourdon. With whatever dignity these histories are presented to us in the language of Scripture, this style of painting possesses the same power of inspiring sentiments of grandeur and sublimity, and is able to communicate them to subjects which appear by no means adapted to receive them. A ladder against the sky has no very promising appearance of possessing a capacity to excite any heroic ideas; and the ark, in the hands of a second-rate master, would have little more effect than a common waggon on the highway; yet these subjects are so poetically treated throughout, the parts have such a correspondence with each other, and

\* Waagen, Paris, s. 664.

the whole and every part of the scene is so visionary, that it is impossible to look at them without feeling, in some measure, the enthusiasm which seems to have inspired the painters."\* Sir Joshua bequeathed this picture to Sir George Beaumont, with whose collection it was presented to the nation; the colouring has darkened considerably. Another landscape of Bourdon's of the same character is in possession of the Marquis of Bute.

*Pierre Mignard*, surnamed "*le Romain*," was born in 1610, at Troyes, in Champagne, and died in 1695. Waagen characterizes him as "the Sasso Ferrato and Carlo Dolce of the French school united in one and the same person. Like the former, he imitated Raphael and sometimes Domenichino in his composition and character of his figures, whilst he resembles the latter in feebleness, and in the warmth, clearness, and gloss of his colour, as well as the extraordinary softness of his execution; but he was more deliberately affected than either of them."† Mignard spent the greater part of his life at Rome, where he was intimate with Poussin. He returned to France however, and on the accession of Louvois to power, supplanted Lebrun, who had held the first place in the arts under Colbert's administration‡. He painted the cupola of the Val de Grace founded by Anne of Austria. The imitation of Carlo Dolce and Domenichino is visible in his *St. Cecilia* (No. 184), in the Louvre, and the national taint of affectation is

\* Sir Joshua Reynolds's 14th Discourse, Works, ii. p. 163.

† Waagen, Paris, s. 661.

‡ Gault de St. Germain, p. 100.



clearly seen in his St. Luke and other pictures in the same collection; in execution and finish there is much to admire in Mignard, as there is in Carlo Dolce. Mignard's portraits were especially successful; his own is very good, and that of Madame de Maintenon, though over-coloured in the flesh, is powerfully painted. The large picture of Louis the Dauphin, with his Wife and their children, the Dukes of Burgundy, Anjou, and Berry, is badly composed, but carefully executed in a clear and fresh tone, though rather too rosy\*. In the Berlin Gallery there is a portrait by this master of Maria Mancini, one of the nieces of Mazarin, holding a pearl in her hand. At Windsor the reader will find a full length of Henrietta of Orleans, youngest daughter of Charles I., with her two daughters; and at Hampton Court there is a portrait of Louis XIV. The portrait of Descartes at Castle Howard must be an interesting work in every respect†.

*Nicolas Mignard*, surnamed "*d'Avignon*," was the elder brother of Pierre, and was born in 1608. Having set out with the intention of visiting Italy he obtained an engagement at Avignon to paint the gallery of the house of M. de Montreal. He afterwards got to Rome, and worked there two years, but returned to Avignon, where he had fallen in love, and was anxious to settle. In that city he remained until the court came thither, in 1659, when an opportunity offered for distinguishing himself by painting the portrait of Cardinal Mazarin. This led to his being transferred to Paris, and he be-

\* Waagen, Paris, s. 663; from whom these criticisms are taken.

† Waagen's England, ii. s. 416.

came celebrated for his portraits: he also executed two large pictures for the Chartreuse of Grenoble, representing the Martyrdom of Carthusian Monks under Henry VIII. of England\*. It is said that he painted with the left hand. The celebrated print of Masson's, called the "Cadet à la Perle," is a portrait of the Comte d'Harcourt, engraved after a picture by this artist. Nicolas Mignard died at Paris in 1668; he left a son, *Paul*, who worked in England†.

The brothers *Antoine* and *Louis Lenain* painted portraits, but as Gault de St. Germain, writing in the heroic spirit of the empire, indignantly observes, "They are better known by the low subjects which they chose to treat. No ignoble truth escaped their search; they imitated the most filthy and disgusting of these."‡ They may have deserved this reproach, but the spirit of the exclamation of Louis XIV.,—"Qu'on m'ôte ces magots," is too strong in the French critics to induce one to place implicit faith in their opinion on such a matter. Waagen's observations are as follows:—"These artists have a purity of feeling for nature such as is rare among the French. It may be that the circumstance of their having remained in their birthplace, Laon, and not having been influenced by the taste of Paris, contributed to develop and preserve this character. No. 3 is a Procession in the interior of a

\* Félibien, 4to, ii. p. 488—494.

† I allaway's Walpole, iii. p. 252.

‡ Gault de St. Germain, p. 158. Félibien puts a remark of the same kind into the mouth of one of the personages in his dialogue; see ii. p. 487.

church. The heads have a certain charm about them and a delicacy of individual character; the execution is in a warm tone, and solid in the touch. No. 112. A smith at his forge; the effect of light is excellent, but the shadows are too heavy.\* The brothers died at Laon, the place of their birth, within two days of each other, in the year 1648, having been born about the end of the preceding century. Another brother, *Matthieu Lenain* was also a painter; he died in 1677.

*Charles Lebrun* was born in 1619, and died in 1690. He owed the means of visiting Italy to Seguier, Chancellor of France, and Garde des Sceaux, who enabled the artist to join Poussin at Lyons, in 1643. With him Lebrun went on to Rome. There he executed a picture of Horatius Cocles defending the Bridge, which was mistaken for a production of Poussin's †. Under Colbert's administration Lebrun became the great painter of the court, and he retained this position until he was supplanted by Mignard. It is said that the vexation caused by the transfer of the royal favour was the cause of his death.

Lebrun was an artist exactly fitted to the age and character of Louis XIV. His pictures give us the genuine spirit of his master. Their qualities bear the same relation to true and simple grandeur in art, as Louis XIV., when he made war in his coach-and-six, bore as a general to Julius Cæsar. All is ostentation and struggle for effect, joined with considerable techni-

\* Waagen, Paris, s. 673.

† Gault de St. Germain, Vie de N. Poussin, p. 74, n. 23. This picture and two others by Lebrun are now in the Dulwich Gallery.

cal excellence and little genuine feeling. Their scale is gigantic, and the impression produced by them is like that of a scene at the opera. I am speaking more particularly of the great series of pictures of the History of Alexander, now in the Louvre, which was finished in 1662. In composition and in execution they have much merit. The colour of some of them, particularly that of the Battle of Arbela, has suffered much. The worst of the whole, perhaps, is the Battle of the Granicus\*.

In subjects of less pretension Lebrun was a good painter: his Stoning of St. Stephen (No. 97 in the Louvre) reminds us of Poussin's influence, and his Magdalen (No. 98) has much to recommend it. The Christ on the Cross, surrounded by Angels (No. 94), was painted after a dream of Anne of Austria, and though full of affectation, is yet well executed. Lebrun's portraits, in which he could not entirely escape from nature, are far better worth looking at. His own picture in the Louvre may be referred to, as well as that of the painter Alphonse Dufresnoy. Frederick Schlegel remarks, "that a painter essentially a mannerist, though really a man of genius, may in single works attain the highest excellence, if he be only forcibly driven from his ordinary sphere of action. As a proof of this, he refers to a large picture by Lebrun, containing the portraits of the family of Jabach the banker, which, in 1818, he had seen in the hands of Herr de Groote, at Cologne. "Probably," he says, "the French artist determined

\* Waagen, Paris, s. 659.

to treat this subject with the simple manner and the truth of the best masters of the Low Countries, and thus followed their example; or it may be that the subject itself led him to this result. We cannot but admire the talent with which he has executed this work; and we feel astonished how he has contrived to appropriate to himself, in this one picture, a true feeling for nature, as if that feeling were only another manner of painting which he did not commonly practise. His ordinary inclination to great size in his pictures probably was an advantage rather than a hindrance to him, and from the union of this tendency with the simple truth of the Flemish masters an excellence of a peculiar character has, in this instance, been produced."\*

This picture of the Jabach family is now, I believe, in the Museum at Berlin. It contains the portrait of the banker, and of his wife and four children: in the mirror is seen the artist himself†.

*Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy* was born at Paris, in 1611. He was originally intended for a physician, but became a pupil of Vouet, under whom he studied two years. At the expiration of this time he went to Italy, where he arrived at the end of 1633, or the beginning of 1634. At Rome he was the inseparable friend of Pierre Mignard: they lodged together, worked together, and discussed the theory of art with one another. In 1653 the two painters visited Venice. Dufresnoy had already copied much from Titian, for whom he professed

\* Friedrich Schlegel, *Werke*, vi. s. 143.

† No. 471, *Erste Abtheilung*, Catalogue of 1845.

a strong admiration, and he renewed his homage to the great master in his native city. From Venice, Mignard went back to Rome, whilst his friend returned to France. This was in the year 1656, when Dufresnoy's poem, "*De Arte Graphicâ*," was already written: in fact, it had been composed before he started for Italy, though he continued constantly revising it. He had read it to all the celebrated painters whom he met on his travels, and, among the rest, to Albani and Guercino at Bologna. It was not, however, published until after his death, which occurred in 1668\*.

This artist's *St. Margaret*, in the Louvre, is in the style of Mignard, whilst his other picture in the same collection—*Nymphs and Naiads*—is an imitation of Poussin†; whatever may be the intrinsic merit of his poem, his name is better known by it than by his pictures. To have been translated by Dryden and Mason, commented on by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and deemed worthy of an epistle by Pope, are claims to honour which cannot be overlooked‡.

*Thomas Blanchet*, born in 1617, was originally intended for a sculptor, but afterwards studied painting under Andrea Sacchi, and was assisted by the counsels of Poussin. He painted the ceiling of the *Hôtel de Ville* at Lyons.

\* See *Félibien*, ii. pp. 662—668.

† *Waagen*, Paris, p. 663.

‡ See Pope's lines to Mr. Jervas, sent with Dryden's Translation, in which he says,

"Read these instructive leaves, in which conspire  
Fresnoy's close art and Dryden's native fire."

*Charles Audran, René-Antoine Houasse, and François Verdier*, were all pupils of Lebrun, and worked with him.

Audran was a native of Lyons, born in 1639. He assisted his master in the Battles of Alexander, and died in 1684. Houasse was born in 1645; he became a member of the Academy in 1673; in 1699 the king named him Director of the Academy at Rome, where he remained five years. After the accession of Philip V. he went to Spain, and finally died at Paris, in 1707. Some of the rooms at Versailles, and several subjects in the Trianon, were executed by him. A son of Houasse—*Michel Ange*—took his father's place at Madrid: he is mentioned by Ponz and Cean Bermudez\*. Verdier is said to have been the best of these three pupils of Lebrun, whose niece he married. He died young†.

*Nicolas Loir* (1624—1679) was a pupil of Bourdon, but did not follow the style of his master. After studying in Italy he returned to France in 1663, and became an Academician. His best work was a picture of Cleobis and Biton dragging their mother on her car, which he etched himself. Loir made a good many

\* Cean Bermudez places the father's death in 1710. The date in the text is that given by Gault de St. Germain.

† I give the name of Verdier, because I find him as a pupil of Lebrun in Gault de St. Germain's "*Trois siècles de la Peinture*;" but the dates assigned to him by this writer are wholly inconsistent with the facts which he states. He says that Lebrun was Verdier's master, and caused him to be received at the Academy, whilst, at the same time, he places his birth in 1691, and his death in 1730; but Lebrun himself died in 1690!

copies of Poussin, which were so good as often to pass for originals: such was the picture of the Judgment of Solomon, formerly in the Musée Napoléon\*.

*Paris Corneille* was born at Orleans in 1603, and died in 1664. He was a scholar of Vouet, and left two sons, both painters†. The eldest of these was *Michel Corneille*, born in 1646; who was originally the pupil of his father; but having gained the prize in the Academy, proceeded to study in Italy. Here he devoted himself to the works of the Bolognese school, whose drawing and colouring he imitated with success. He signed his pictures with his name, to which he sometimes added an A., to distinguish himself from his father: hence he has been called *Michel Ange Corneille*, and occasionally *Corneille des Gobelins*, from the fact of his working for that establishment. Many of his works were lost or destroyed in the Revolution. He executed six pictures of the Life of St. Gregory, in the chapel of that saint at the Invalides. He died in 1708, at the age of sixty-six. His younger brother, *Jean Baptiste Corneille*, who was born in 1646, and died in 1695, was a somewhat inferior artist: both etched a good many plates.

*Jacques Courtois* was a native of Franche Comté, and is better known by the name of "*Il Borgognone*." He was born in 1621, and his life was, for the most part, spent in Italy, where he became intimate with Guido

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 113.

† Félibien (ii. p. 486) calls the father Michel Corneille. The name in the text is taken from Gault de St. Germain, p. 115. Nagler's *Künstler-Lexicon* gives the name of the father as Michel.



and Albani. At Rome he is said to have studied with the greatest attention the Battle of Constantine, in the Vatican: in the end he adopted subjects of this character, and became celebrated for them. Singularly enough for a battle-painter, in his latter years he became a Jesuit; but it has been said that the cause of his profession was the fear of a prosecution for the murder of his wife\*. His works are bold and free; the colour is laid on in masses, but is sometimes rather too red; his drawing was far from faultless, whilst his composition is often masterly. His style has no relation whatever to that of the French school: it is more like Salvator Rosa. Courtois died in 1676. The best of his pictures in the Louvre is the battle-piece, No. 16†.

*Joseph Parrocel* was the pupil of Borgognone: he was born in 1648, and died in 1704. This artist was much employed by the court, but at one time ran considerable risk of being supplanted by *Van der Meulen*. He paid more attention to the expression of individual figures than his master ever did, but was not equal to him in spirit and general effect. The Passage of the Rhine by Louis XIV., at the head of his Army, in the Louvre, is by Parrocel. Waagen says of it, that the horses are clumsier and stiffer than Borgognone's, whilst the fore-ground is too black, when taken in relation to the silver tone of the distance‡.

*Claude Lefèvre* was one of the good portrait painters of France. There is a picture by him in the Louvre, of a

\* Nagler, *Künstler-Lexicon*.

† Waagen, *Paris*, s. 674.

‡ Ibid.

Master and his scholar, which resembles in its tone the works of Vandyke. He was born at Fontainebleau in 1633, and died in London in 1675, the year of his arrival in this country\*. Another artist of the same name, was the master who has been called "*Lefèvre de Venise*." His Christian name was *Roland*; he studied long in Venice, died in Bear Street, Leicester Fields, in 1677, at the age of about sixty-nine, and was buried at St. Martin's†. A third painter, who has often been confounded with one or other of those just named, was *Valentin Lefèvre* of Brussels, born in 1642, who never was in England. The confusion has been made greater by the fact that Valentin Lefèvre, like Roland, lived much at Venice, where he died about the year 1700. He was remarkable as a copyist and imitator of Paul Veronese, and is well known by engravings after Titian and others‡.

*Michel Dorigni* was a pupil of Vouet, and married one of his daughters. He painted some apartments at Vincennes, but is best known as an engraver. He died in 1665, at the age of forty-eight years. *Louis Dorigni*, the son of the last artist, was born in 1654, and died at Verona in 1743. He belonged to the school of Lebrun.

The cultivation of the fine arts has a natural tendency to run in families; and this was particularly the case in France at the period which we are discussing:

\* Waagen's *Paris*, s. 672; compare Dallaway's *Walpole*, iii. p. 61.

† Dallaway's *Walpole*, iii. p. 63.

‡ Lanzi, iii. p. 218. The reader will find all these Lefèvres distinguished in Nagler's *Künstler Lexicon*; compare Gault de St. Germain, p. 149.

instances are afforded by the families of Coypel, Boullongne, Hallé, and De Troy. *Noel Coypel* was born at Paris in 1628, and died at the age of seventy-nine: he became an Academician in 1668, and it was to him that the French Academy at Rome owed its transfer to a palace, and its amended statutes. Waagen considers the picture of Ptolemy Philadelphus releasing the Jews as the best of the four by this master in the Louvre. He says, "Reminiscences of Raphael and Poussin are skilfully applied; the colouring is delicate, warm, and clear, the execution careful. Solon leaving the Athenians is the picture which possesses the next greatest number of these qualities. Alexander Severus distributing corn in a famine is more theatrical in its motives. Trajan himself administering justice in public has the same fault, and is, moreover, spotty in its colour."\* These four pictures were all painted for the Cabinet de Conseil at Versailles, and have been engraved by Duchange. *Antoine Coypel*, the son, was born in 1661, and was taught by his father; but his pictures, besides being darker than those of Noel Coypel, are more exaggerated and affected†. This master died in the year 1722. In addition to the two Coypels whom I have named, there were two others: *Noel Nicolas*, a younger brother of Antoine, and *Charles Antoine*, the son of the latter. The last was at one time *premier peintre du Roi*.

The family of Boullongne, again, produced no less than five artists. The father, *Louis de Boullongne*, was born

\* Waagen's Paris, s. 665.

† Ibid. s. 668.

at Paris in 1609, and died in 1674. He was particularly skilful in copying the old masters; so much so as to deceive good judges. Thus he copied the *Par-nassus* of Perin del Vaga, for the banker Jabach, so skilfully as perfectly to resemble the original\*. I do not believe that any picture of his is to be found in the Louvre. *Bon Boullongne*, his elder son, was born in 1649. The reputation which he acquired at Rome caused him to be employed by Lebrun at Versailles, where he executed nine compartments in the chapel †. In 1677 he became an Academician. The works of his best time are—portions of the cupola of the Invalides, the Chapel of St. Jerome, that of the old convent of the Assumption in the Rue St. Honoré, his Resurrection of Lazarus, (formerly in the choir of the Char-trreuse,) Christ at the pool of Bethesda (engraved by Langlois), The Annunciation (engraved by Chereau), and a Holy Family (engraved by himself). His picture in the Louvre, (No. 1288,) is St. Benedict restoring a child to life, which Waagen treats as exaggerated and mannered in a high degree ‡. He is said to have always painted after nature; but he saw her through the atmosphere of the reign of Louis XIV. He died in 1717. *Louis Boullongne*, the son, was the younger brother of the artist last named. He was born in

\* Félibien, ii. p. 568. In Fuseli's Pilkington this copy is attributed to Bon Boullongne, the son, who was alive when Félibien wrote, and is not treated of by him.

† Gault de St. Germain, p. 125.

‡ Paris, p. 668. The account of Boullongne's works in the text is taken from Gault de St. Germain, p. 126.

1654, and died in 1733. He painted the principal events of the life of St. Augustin in the cupola of the Invalides, and was made first painter to the king, with a pension of 10,000 livres, as well as director of the Academy. Besides the father and two sons, there were two daughters, *Genevieve* and *Madeleine*, celebrated as flower-painters.

Another of these families of artists was that of Hallé. The father, *Daniel Hallé*, died at an advanced age in 1674. The son, *Claude Guy Hallé*, was born in 1651, and died in 1736. He was director of the French Academy.

*François de Troy*, the elder, was the son, and, in the first instance, the pupil of *Nicolas de Troy*. François was born at Toulouse, in 1645; he afterwards became the scholar of Loir. There is in the Louvre a good portrait of the sculptor Bogaert by this master. He passed his life in the *petits appartemens* of Versailles, the favourite of Madame de Maintenon and Madame de Montespan, and died in 1730\*. His son, *Jean François de Troy*, afterwards enjoyed a great but short-lived fame; and died in 1752, whilst filling the place of director of the French Academy at Rome.

*Jean Baptiste Santerre*, one of the best pupils of the school of Bon Boullongne, was born at Magny, near Pontoise, in 1651, and died in 1717. His Susanna, of which Gault de St. Germain speaks thus †—"Charman-  
te production, qui offre les graces de Vénus ornées des attrails de l'innocence et de la pudeur," is described

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 131, note.

† Ibid. p. 132; compare Waagen's Paris, p. 668.

by Waagen as being without taste in the lines, affected in the attitudes, and unmeaning in the heads, but good in point of keeping, and painted in a clear warm tone. Before his death Santerre burnt a book of studies from the naked figure, which he had scruples as to leaving: his Magdalen was a favourite picture of Louis XIV., who placed it in his own cabinet.

*Charles de Lafosse* was a scholar of Lebrun. In the eyes of his contemporaries he rivalled Vandyke, Rubens, or Titian, and left Paul Veronese far behind him\*. In reality his compositions are distinguished for flutter and affectation of the worst kind. He executed a portion of the cupola of the Invalides, and some of the ceilings at Versailles. When invited to England by the Duke of Montagu, he painted two ceilings in Montagu House, afterwards the British Museum: Parmentier assisted him in laying the dead colour. De Lafosse came over in the reign of James II., and returned to France at the Revolution, but came back again to finish what he had begun†. The picture which he painted on his admission to the French Academy is the Rape of Proserpine, now in the Louvre, which is carefully finished, but theatrical in its forms, as well as heavy in its colour. The painter was born in 1640, and died in 1716.

*Jean Jouvenet* was born at Rouen in 1644. Waagen calls him "about the most distinguished artist of this later

\* Gault de St. Germain has, however, the sense to see that "quant à la fierté du pinceau, du coloris, de l'expression générale, Paul Véronèse écrase De Lafosse." P. 135, note.

† Dallaway's Walpole, iii. p. 199.

time. His invention was fertile, and in his best pictures he was less theatrical than most of his contemporaries; his colour too was warm and powerful, though not true to nature, especially as regards the honey-tone of his flesh; his handling was broad, and his impasto powerful; in form and character of his figures he was strong and effective, rather than refined and noble.\* The same author proceeds to make the following criticisms on this master's pictures in the Louvre:—"No. 69. Christ heals the sick on the shore; a boat is seen on the water. This is a rich composition of great effect, less violent and more harmonious in its keeping than most of the pictures of the master: it was executed in 1673, as a votive picture for the Church of Nôtre Dame. No. 68. Christ with Martha and Mary. The heads are without expression; in other respects it has the same good qualities as the last picture. No. 67. A Priest administers extreme unction to an old man, in the presence of the Virgin and Christ. This picture came from the apartments of the Provost of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, and is one of the best of the master's works. The motives are full of truth and meaning; the heads are replete with life, and touching in their expression; the tone of the flesh is clear, delicate, and free from exaggeration, whilst the light and shade is brilliant. It must be admitted, however, that the Virgin and Child are insignificant and unconcerned with the action. No. 76. The Abbé Delaporte leaving the high altar of

\* Waagen's Paris, p. 666.

Nôtre Dame, where he has just said mass, on the completion of fifty years as a canon\*. One sees the favourable influence of Lesueur in the feeling as well as in the clear and transparent tone of the picture. No. 70. The miraculous draught. This work, theatrical in its motives, without meaning in its heads, and syrup-coloured in its flesh, pleased Louis XIV. so much, that he had it executed in tapestry: we must, however, allow it the merit of keeping, careful rounding of the figures, and cleverness of touch. It, as well as the three next pictures, was painted for the church of St. Martin des Champs. No. 71. The Resurrection of Lazarus, a companion to the last picture, and one which resembles it in every thing, except that this is more spotty in colour, and peculiarly disagreeable from a heavy brown tone of the shadows and the drapery. No. 72. The Expulsion of the sellers from the Temple: particularly wanting in expression of the heads, but more pleasing in its forms than most of the artist's works. No. 74. The Descent from the Cross, marked with the year 1697. This picture was painted for the high altar of the Capuchin church, near the Place Vendôme, and passes for the chef-d'œuvre of the master. The exaggerated dramatic character of the composition, and the warmth and power of the colouring, without doubt produce a great effect, but the heads want meaning, and the predominance of brown is again offensive. No. 75. The Ascension of Christ. The story is told in a most theatrical manner and moreover the forms are

\* "Als Jubelgreis," "Chanoine Jubilé."



sharp, the lights of a bright green, and the shadows dirty."\*

Jouvenet died in 1717, in which year he executed a picture with his left hand, after he had lost the use of the right from a paralytic stroke. This fact he recorded on the work itself. As might be expected, Gault de St. Germain takes a somewhat different view of this master's merits from that implied in the criticisms of Waagen. He observes, "that what renders Jouvenet original, as compared with his contemporaries, is the excellent choice of his attitudes, the propriety of his action, the firmness of his touch, and the harmony and solidity of his colouring, which is true to nature, as well as successfully dealt with in the massing of the light and shade. With regard to his draperies, they are broad, and finely cast, but some fault may be found with their execution. He often fell into a manner which it is dangerous to follow—a fact sufficiently proved by the pupils who came from his school."†

*Nicolas Colombel* was the only scholar of note produced by the school of Lesueur. He was born at Sotteville, near Rouen, in 1646, and lived till the year 1717. Mars and Rhea Sylvia, now in the Louvre, was the picture painted on his admission into the Academy. He was in some sense a master who stood alone among his contemporaries in dignity of feeling, and in the solid character of his art. The St. Hyacinth miraculously transported across the Borysthenes, whilst rescuing an image of the Virgin from the Tartars, is de-

\* Waagen, Paris, p. 667.

† Gault de St. Germain, p. 143.

scribed as a picture which shows a study of Raphael, without servile and spiritless imitation of that master, together with action true to nature and pleasing in itself. The character of the figures is individual, without being mean, and there is an expression of earnest dignity, severity of drawing, a genial glow in the flesh-tones, and delicacy in the aerial perspective. The execution is careful, and the impasto good\*.

*Nicolas de Largillière* obtained a high reputation at a very early age: he was born in 1656, and was only eighteen years old when he first came to this country. Having been employed by Lely at Windsor, he painted the portraits of the king and queen and returned to France at the Revolution. Altogether he made three visits to England†. Besides a facility in executing large subjects, he acquired considerable skill in portraits: among others he painted that of Lebrun; his own is at present in the Louvre. The latter is well drawn and carefully executed, but it is yellowish in the lights, green in the half-tints, and brown in the shadows, so as on the whole to produce a heavy effect, though not deficient in harmony‡. *Largillière* died in 1746, at the age of ninety.

I have mentioned the artist who assisted Lafosse at Montagu House: this was *Jacques Parmentier*, a nephew of Bourdon, who came to England in 1676. Besides what he did with Lafosse he painted an altar-piece for a church at Hull, and another in St. Peter's at Leeds: the subject of the latter is Moses receiving the Law. Parmentier's best work in this country is said to

\* Waagen, Paris, s. 668. † Dallaway's Walpole, iii. p. 202.

‡ Waagen, Paris, s. 672.

be the staircase at Worksop. In 1721, on Laguerre's death, he came to London in the hope of succeeding to that artist's practice. He was born in 1658, and, having died in 1730, was buried in St. Paul's, Covent Garden\*.

*Philip Duval* was another French master who worked in England: in 1672 he painted a picture of Venus receiving the arms of Æneas from Vulcan, for Miss Stuart, afterwards Duchess of Richmond. Boyle allowed this artist an annuity of £50 a year: he died about 1709 †.

*Hyacinthe Rigaud* was born at Perpignan in 1659: by the advice of Lebrun he became a portrait-painter, and his pictures in this department are good, though highly characteristic of the age of the master and the society to which the persons belonged. Waagen treats Rigaud's portrait of Bossuet as the best of his works in the Louvre: "The very opposite of Fénelon, he sits there with the full consciousness of his own superior intellect; the light is strong; the painting warm and careful, and the effect powerful, though somewhat spotty." The portrait of Louis XIV. has an artificial effect, on account of the studied attitude of the feet and the manner in which the robe is disposed, but the head is well painted. The Louvre contains several other portraits, and one or two historical pictures, which show that Rigaud did not excel in works of the latter class ‡.

This master did not relish taking the likenesses of ladies who had passed their youth. "If," he said, "I paint them as they are, they will think that I have not

\* Dallaway's Walpole, iii. p. 286.

† Ibid. iii. p. 96.

‡ Waagen's Paris, s. 672.

done justice to them—if I flatter them, the pictures will not be like.” On one occasion a lady, whose age made it especially necessary that her complexion should be improved by art, and who had prepared for the sitting by an abundant application of white and red, remarked indignantly, “Monsieur Rigaud, where do you buy your colours? They seem to me rather dull.” The artist replied, “Why, madame, I believe we both get them at the same shop!”\*

Reynolds says, “The portraits of Rigaud are perfect examples of an implicit observance of the rules of De Piles; so that, though he was a painter of great merit in many respects, yet that merit is certainly overpowered by a total absence of simplicity in every sense.”†

The reader will find some of Rigaud’s portraits in the Dulwich Gallery. He died in the year 1743, at the age of eighty.

Among the painters who visited England was *Louis Chéron*, the son of an enamel painter, born in 1660: he worked at Montagu House, at Burleigh, and at Chatsworth, and died in 1723 in this country‡. The sister of this master—*Elisabeth Sophie Chéron*—was considerably older and far more celebrated than her brother: she was born in 1648. Wille engraved the portraits of Madame Deshoulières and Mademoiselle de Scuderi after her pictures. She was accomplished

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 154, note.

† Reynolds, 8th Discourse, Works, i. p. 256.

‡ Walpole (iii. p. 246) places his death in 1713; he was buried in St. Paul’s, Covent Garden.

as an engraver, a musician, and a poet, and must have been a most remarkable person. On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes she abjured the Protestant religion, and died in 1711, an associate of the French Academy of Painting.

*Jean Baptiste Monnoyer*, called "*Baptiste*," was the best French flower-painter of the age of Louis XIV. Born at Lille in 1635, he became a member of the French Academy in 1655, and died in Pall Mall in 1699. In France most of his works were in the royal palaces. In England he painted at Montagu House; and there are a number of his works at Hampton Court. He was employed also at Kensington, at Lord Carlisle's, and at Burlington House. His pictures have not the finish and softness of Van Huysum or Rachel Ruysch, but his colouring and composition are bolder\*.

Monnoyer's son-in-law and pupil, *Jean Baptiste Blaise de Fontenay*, followed the same style as himself, and they worked together. Blaise de Fontenay was born in 1654.

*Jacques Rousseau* was a painter of architecture who was born in 1630. He was employed at Marly, but being a Protestant fled to Switzerland, whence Louis XIV. invited him to return; the artist, however, mistrusted his royal master, refused to go back to France, and went to Holland; from Holland he was brought to this country by the Duke of Montagu. The works executed at Montagu House were considered as worth

\* Dallaway's Walpole, iii. p. 239, note; compare Mrs. Jameson's Public Galleries, i. p. 213.

£1,500, but the duke compounded with the painter for a pension of £200 a year for life, and the bargain turned out a good one for the former, since Rousseau died in two years, at the age of about sixty-eight. He executed some paintings of landscapes and architecture over the doors at Hampton Court\*.

*Louis Laguerre* was born in 1663, and, as Walpole says, he was "the assistant and imitator of Verrio, with whose name his will be preserved when their united labours shall be no more; both being immortalized by that unpropitious line of Pope—

'Where sprawl the saints of Verrio and Laguerre.'

The same redundancy of history and fable is displayed in the works of both; and it is but justice to say that their performances were at least in as good a taste as the edifices they were appointed to adorn."†

This artist's father was a Catalan, who became master of the menagerie at Versailles; he studied for a short time under Lebrun, and came to England in 1683. Here he was employed by Verrio, and painted for him the greater part of the large picture in St. Bartholomew's Hospital; he also worked at Burleigh, at Old Devonshire House in Piccadilly, on the staircase at Petworth, at Marlborough House, and in the saloon at Blenheim; this last is reckoned his best performance‡. William III. entrusted Laguerre with the repairs, or

\* Dallaway's Walpole, iii. p. 198.

† Ibid. iv. p. 4.

‡ For Laguerre's works at Burleigh, see Waagen's England, ii. s. 481.

rather the destruction, of the Triumph of Cæsar, by Andrea Mantegna, at Hampton Court \*. Thornhill supplanted him in the commission of painting the dome of St. Paul's, and Kneller, out of pique against Thornhill, employed him in his own house.

Laguerre's son was an actor, and the painter, going to his benefit, was seized with apoplexy, and died in the theatre before the play began. This occurred in the year 1721 ; he was buried at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields †.

I will close this chapter by mentioning *Pierre Patel*, the elder, who was a landscape-painter, born in 1654. His picture in the Louvre (No. 193) is good and well painted, though somewhat cold and green in its general tone. His son was an inferior artist ‡.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### PAINTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

WE have seen that Louis XIV. was a munificent patron of art ; in this, as in other matters, he set the fashion to the noblesse of his court, some of whose collections were of great value. None, however, equalled that which the Regent Orléans got together in the early

\* Waagen's *England*, i. s. 384. Mrs. Jameson thinks these cartoons have suffered more from time and accident than from ill treatment. I do not agree with her.—*Public Galleries*, ii. p. 372.

† Dallaway's *Walpole*, iv. p. 8.

‡ Waagen's *Paris*, s. 676.

part of the eighteenth century. The nucleus of his gallery consisted of forty-seven first-rate pictures which had belonged to Christina of Sweden, and to these were joined a portion of the galleries of Richelieu, Mazarin, Dubois, the Duc de Grammont, and others. In this collection were the seven Sacraments of Poussin, now belonging to the Earl of Ellesmere, and the Raising of Lazarus, by Sebastian del Piombo—in this collection were the Three Ages and the “*Noli me tangere*” of Titian, as well as the later pictures of the same master which we admire in the Bridgewater Gallery.

By a reaction not uncommon, the son of the regent, Philippe d'Orléans, became conscious of his father's moral errors, and he avenged himself on the works of art which he thought had tended to promote them. He caused the heads of the *Io* and the *Leda* in the pictures of Correggio to be cut out, and, in fact, intended to destroy the paintings themselves\*.

\* The history of these pictures is exceedingly curious. Noël Coypel, the director of the gallery, got hold of the mutilated canvas, and stuck the fragments of the *Leda* together again : he then painted in heads to both figures. After Coypel's death they passed into the hands of a certain M. Pasquier, and at his sale they were purchased by Frederick the Great, who placed them at Sans Souci. The fate of pictures is often an episode in the fate of nations. In 1806, after Jena, they went back to Paris, where Prudhon put in a very fine head to the *Io*, instead of the one originally executed by Coypel, and he painted the *Leda* all over ; this was done under Denon's direction. When the tide of victory turned in 1814, the Correggios, like the car on the *Brandenburger Thor*, again made the journey to Berlin, and took their old places in the gallery at Sans Souci, where I saw them in 1829. In the following year they were transferred to the new picture gallery, after being cleaned and restored (as I doubt



The extravagance and the political intrigues of Philippe Égalité caused the whole collection to be sold much below its value in 1792; thus ultimately they were brought to this country, and England has reaped the benefit of the Orleans Gallery.

The formation of collections of this description is of the utmost importance to the history of art in any country. Some of our modern painters appear to think that every farthing spent by amateurs on old pictures is so much improperly abstracted from the patronage of living art—there cannot be a greater error. The interest of all artists, whose works are worth any thing, is that a genuine love of excellence in art for its own sake should be fostered and fed by the opportunity of referring to good examples; the taste when purified is sure to direct a portion of its patronage on the cultivation of the art of our own day.

Louis XV. increased the Royal Collection considerably, and in 1750 the best of the king's pictures, to the number of one hundred and thirteen, were transferred from Versailles to the Luxembourg, and made accessible to the public. The collection of Crozat too, which was created between 1683 and 1740, exercised an important influence on art in France. This man, the son of a financier, was a *maître des Requêtes*, and held a place about the king. His gallery contained upwards of four hundred pictures, most of them of great excellence; his drawings of the old masters and his gems were yet more extraordinary. The former amounted to the enormous

not most judiciously) by my friend Professor Schlesinger.—See Waagen's *England*, i. s. 46.

number of nineteen thousand, and were disposed of after Crozat's death by auction; the latter were ultimately sold in a mass to the Duke of Orleans.

Such were some of the external appliances afforded to art in the time of Louis XV.; yet we cannot say that the result was altogether favourable.

The reign of Louis XIV. presents us with outward pomp and ostentation clothing a certain element of real force and grandeur; that of Louis XV. is more absurd without any compensation: the stiffness of the old court has become frivolous etiquette, and the stately vices of Louis XIV. have degenerated into what Mr. Carlyle has so happily termed "Dubarrydom." The arts present a corresponding change: the architecture and decoration of Louis XIV. were not perfect, but they possessed solidity and dignity, as compared with the "*rococo*" taste of his successor's reign. Lebrun is the painter of an artificial court, but he does not exhibit the affectation or the indecency of Boucher.

*Antoine Watteau* was born at Valenciennes in 1684: his master's name was Gillot, and he was received as an academician on presenting the picture now in the Louvre, of the Embarkation for the Isle of Cythera. Watteau was once in England for the purpose of consulting Dr. Meade, for whom he painted two pictures, sold in Dr. Meade's sale\*. Two excellent specimens of this master are to be seen in the Dulwich Gallery: one—the *Bal Champêtre*—contains no less than sixty figures. The artist died at Nogent-sur-Seine in 1721.

Justice must be done to Watteau, and the French

\* Dallaway's Walpole, iv. p. 57.

themselves have often overlooked his real merits, whilst they demanded the conventional stiffness of academic rules or pedantic classicism.

Gault de St. Germain, a critic of the time of the Empire, when the principles of David held undisputed sway, says, "The merit of Watteau is almost lost upon us. We consider him only as the painter of the *petits-mâîtres* and the *merveilleuses* of his day; as ridiculous for us as the fashion of our own time will be for posterity\*.

Horace Walpole thus characterizes him:—"The genius of Watteau resembled that of his countryman, d'Urfé; the one drew and the other wrote of imaginary nymphs and swains, and described a kind of impossible pastoral, a rural life led by those opposites of rural simplicity—people of fashion and rank. Watteau's shepherdesses, nay, his very sheep, are coquettes; yet he avoided the glare and clinquant of his countrymen; and, though he fell short of the dignified grace of the Italians, there is an easy air in his figures, and that more familiar species of the graceful which we call genteel. His nymphs are as much below the forbidding majesty of goddesses, as they are above the hoyden awkwardness of country girls. In his halts and marches of armies, the careless slouch of his soldiers still retains the air of a nation that aspires to be agreeable as well as victorious†.

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 161.

† Watteau's genius does not seem well fitted to martial subjects, but if he were to paint soldiers at all, he was the proper painter for the armies of his own day—such armies as that of Marshal Saxe,

“ But there is one fault of Watteau for which, till lately, I could never account. His trees appear as unnatural to our eyes, as his figures must do to a real peasant who had never stirred beyond his village. In my late journeys to Paris the cause of this grievous absurdity was apparent to me, though nothing can excuse it. Watteau's trees are copied from those of the Tuilleries and villas near Paris, a strange scene to study nature in! There I saw the originals of those tufts of plumes and fans and trimmed-up groves, that nod to one another like the scenes of an opera. Fantastic people! who range and fashion their trees, and teach them to hold up their heads as a drawing-master would if he expected Orpheus should return to play a minuet to them.”\* It is hardly excusable to quote Walpole against affectation—*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*—but the criticism is a fair one.

In truth, however, Watteau, like all artists, must be judged according to his prétensions, and with reference to his own style of art: in this point of view he was inimitable. Wilkie, in his journal, writing at Dresden, remarks, “ The Watteaus, of which there is one in the Gallery, and one I saw to-day, are in quality too light and feeble, but elegant and gay in the extreme. If it be objected that his style is affected, *that* the subjects themselves require. His style stands alone in the art as the essence of fashion, frivolity, and elegance, the on whose military theatre, according to the well-known story, the announcement was formally made from the stage:—“ Messieurs et Mesdames—Demain il y aura relâche au Théâtre à cause de la bataille que M. le Maréchal va donner,—après demain ‘le Coq du Village.’ ”

\* Dallaway's Walpole, iv. p. 58.

converse of boorishness, rendered in an artist-like and picturesque manner."\* Sir Joshua, in his notes on Dufresnoy, says, "We may recommend here an attention to the works of Watteau for excellence in the florid style of colouring."†

It is no slight praise of any master to say that he knew exactly what he aimed at and succeeded in attaining his object: this may be truly said of Watteau; his colour and his touch are good in themselves, and they are precisely what we should desire in order to carry out the principle on which he started. That he was capable of seeing and feeling nature in another sense is sufficiently shown by a picture in the possession of Mr. Munro; it is a portrait of two little girls, the size of life, conceived and executed with a truth not in the least diminished by a certain grown-up air of coquetterie and conceit. The painting is most careful; the high lights and the prominent parts of the lace on the dresses are laid on with the impasto of Rembrandt. There is only one thing which I cannot pardon Watteau, and that is, having contributed to spoil Stothard.

After Watteau's success the painters of what were called "*fêtes galantes*" became a class among the French artists‡; Jean Baptiste Pater, like his master a native of Valenciennes, and Nicolas Lancret, were produced by his school. Of the latter master there are four small pictures in the National Gallery, bequeathed by Colonel Ollney. Many a picture which passes current in col-

\* Wilkie's Life, ii. p. 328.

† Sir Joshua Reynolds's Works, iii. p. 156.

‡ Gault de St. Germain, p. 161.

lections as a Watteau was the work of these and other imitators.

"Lancret, Boucher, and Carle Vanloo," says Gault de St. Germain, "were the three artists who furnished most abundant materials to the Tremblins and the Baccots—picture-dealers, who lived in the houses formerly covering the Pont Notre Dame. These dealers were famous for the quantity of rubbish which they got manufactured after the designs of Lancret and Boucher to go over doors, or over mirrors, and after those of Carle Vanloo for country churches. The traced outline adopted in these establishments, and which the unhappy artists who got their bread by working there were obliged to follow, was filled up in a colouring raw and bright, laid on smoothly and without any sign of touch or execution. The word daub (*crôte*) was supplanted by that of '*Pont Notre Dame*,' more expressive at that time, since it recalled the bad taste which prevailed there, and which some artists, who commenced in these shops, afterwards carried into the Academy."\*

I shall return hereafter to Boucher and Carle Vanloo.

*Antoine Pesne* was a nephew and pupil of Lafosse. He was born in 1683, and, having studied at Rome and Venice, became known as a portrait-painter. In this capacity he attracted the notice of Frederick William I., the father of Frederick the Great, and spent the greater part of his life as an artist at Berlin. Three pictures by this master are in the gallery of that capital, one of which is a  
• portrait of Frederick the Great, with powdered hair and his mantle thrown over armour, painted in the year 1739,

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 305, note.

the year before his accession to the throne. Another is a portrait of Schmidt, the engraver; one picture of Frederick II., with a hat, was engraved by Wille. Pesne died in 1757, having been honoured with notice in the poetical works of his royal master, and having figured in the squabbles between him and Voltaire\*.

*François Desportes* and *Jean Baptiste Oudry* are two painters of hunting scenes, some of whose works will be found in the Louvre. The former was born in 1661, and died in 1743: his animals are well drawn, but his shadows are heavy, and the tone of his landscape disagreeable. When in Poland he painted the portraits of John Sobieski and his family. Oudry was the pupil of Largillière, and like Desportes painted portraits, as well as hunting pieces and animals. He was born in 1685, and died in 1755.

*Joseph Vivien* was a pupil of Lebrun, and lived from 1657 to 1735. The portrait of Fénélon (No. 308) in the Louvre is by this master.

*Jean Restout*, the father, a scholar of Jouvenet, shows in his Healing of the paralytic man a certain struggle to imitate Lesueur. His colour is true to the school in which he was educated†. His son *Jean Bernard Restout* was also a painter.

The man of the greatest genius in the French school at this time was *Pierre Subleyras*, a native of Uzès, where he was born in 1699. He came to Paris and contended for the prize in painting, which he carried off without dispute, in 1723, by his picture of the Brazen Serpent now in the Louvre. He then be-

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 139. † Waagen's Paris, s. 668.

came the "*Pensionnaire*" of the Academy at Rome, and like Poussin there he remained until his death, which took place in 1749. Waagen treats the picture of the Magdalen washing Christ's Feet (No. 256 in the Louvre) as the *chef-d'œuvre* of Subleyras. "It is," he says, "composed with much taste; the keeping is admirable, and it is executed with care, in a warm, transparent colouring. Some of the attitudes, it must be admitted, are rather theatrical."\* It was painted for the canons of St. John Lateran, at Ostia. The same gallery contains four or five more pictures of this master, and, if I do not mistake, two powerful works of his—a Crucifixion, and a St. Jerome—will be found in the Brera at Milan. The works of Subleyras are rare: a picture of the Fall of Simon Magus belongs to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Alton Towers†.

Nöel Hallé, the son of Gui Hallé, already named ‡, was the pupil of Restout. According to Gault de St. Germain, he developed the vices and faults, of which the germ is visible in the productions of his master. He died in 1781, at an age of 70, having lived long enough to be commented on by Diderot. In that author's account of the *Salon* of 1765 he thus addresses M. Hallé, with reference to a picture, of which the subject was Trajan, when that emperor, on the point of setting out for a military expedition, gets off his horse to listen to the complaint of a poor widow:—"M. Hallé, your Trajan, though imitated from the antique, is flat, without dignity, without

\* Waagen's Paris, s. 669.

† Waagen's England, ii. s. 463.

‡ See above, p. 284.



expression, without character. He seems to say to this woman, ' My good woman—you look tired—I would willingly lend you my horse, but he is as restive as the devil ! ' This horse is in fact the only remarkable personage in the picture ; it is a poetical horse, misty and grey, such as children see in the clouds."\* It is not worth while to follow any further Diderot's criticism on such a master as Hallé, but we shall return to his clever commentaries in speaking of the next artist.

*François Boucher* was born at Paris in 1704, and was destined to become pre-eminently the painter of " Dubarrydom." Never were morals and manners better provided with an exponent, than those of the court of Louis XV. were in Boucher, their painter. He was educated under Lemoine ; at the age of nineteen he carried off the first prize in painting, and afterwards visited Rome. His death took place in 1768, whilst he was *premier peintre du Roi*. In the days of his great popularity he drew mostly on his imagination for the details of his pictures. Sir Joshua Reynolds tells us, " When I visited him some years since in France, I found him at work on a very large picture without drawings or models of any kind. On my remarking this particular circumstance, he said, when he was young, studying his art, he found it necessary to use models, but he had left them off for many years. Such pictures as this was, and such as I fear always will be produced by those who work solely from practice or memory, may be a convincing proof of the necessity of the conduct which I have recommended.

\* Diderot, *Œuvres*, 8vo, 1821, viii. p. 127.

However, in justice I cannot quit this painter without adding, that in the former part of his life, when he was in the habit of having recourse to nature, he was not without a considerable degree of merit, enough to make half the painters of his country his imitators: he had often grace and beauty and good skill in composition, but I think all under the influence of a bad taste; his imitators are indeed abominable.\*

• So little good can be said of Boucher, that it is fair to give him the benefit of what Sir Joshua has left in his discourses. His pictures in his own day used to bring large prices; for instance, the *Rising and Setting of the Sun* sold at Madame de Pompadour's sale for 9,800 livres†; but Gault de St. Germain says that foreigners laughed at the absurd admiration which the French felt for the pencil of an artist who had lost all notion of truth, modesty, or delicacy.

Diderot was not scrupulous in his morality or deficient in national vanity: let us hear what he says of Boucher:—

“I know not what to say of this man. The debasement of taste, colour, composition, character, expression, and drawing has followed step by step on that of morals. What do you expect this artist to throw off upon canvas?—that which he has in his imagination? And what can a man have in his imagination who passes his life with prostitutes of the lowest class? The grace of his shepherdesses is the grace of Favart in *Rose and Colas*; that of his goddesses is borrowed from Deschamps. I

\* Twelfth Discourse, Works, ii. p. 105.

† Gault de St. Germain, p. 225, 226.

am bold enough to say that this artist in truth knows not what grace is; that he has never known what truth is; that all ideas of delicacy, purity, innocence, or simplicity have become entirely strange to him; I am bold enough to say that he has never, for one moment, seen nature, at least not that nature which is such as to interest my feelings or yours, or the feeling of any decent child or any woman of sensibility; I am bold enough to say that he is without taste. Among a multitude of proofs which I could give you of this fact, one will suffice; and that is, in all the number of figures of men and women which he has painted I defy you to find four of a character fit for a bas-relief, much less fit for a statue. There are too many airs and graces, too much manner and affectation, for any severe style of art. He may make his figures naked if he pleases, but I always see the rouge and the patches upon them, and all the gewgaws and tinsel of the toilette." \* An artist whose indecency was such as to shock Di-

\* Salon de 1765, Œuvres, viii. pp. 114, 115. Diderot goes on to say of Boucher, "Ce n'est pas un sot pourtant—c'est un faux bon peintre, comme on est un faux bel esprit. Il n'a pas la pensée de l'art, il n'en a que les *concetti*." Another passage in his *Essai sur la Peinture* is excellent in its way, but cannot be transcribed entire. "Boucher," he says, "est toujours vicieux et n'attache jamais. Greuze est toujours honnête (?); et la foule se presse autour de ses tableaux.—J'oserais dire à Boucher; si tu ne t'adresses jamais qu'à un polisson de dix-huit ans, tu as raison, mon ami"—continue in short, go on painting the subjects which you now paint, and in the manner in which you paint them, viii. p. 473. Never was there a case to which the words of A. W. von Schlegel were (*mutatis mutandis*) more applicable—"Nothing is more pitiful than for a man to sell himself to the devil for nothing; as, for example, to write indecent poetry which is not even good of its kind," Werke, i. s. 418.

derot may well deserve to be treated as the type of the age and court of Louis XV.

It has been said that Boucher had not many pupils, but that he made many victims, who never could recover from the debasing effect of his example. The best among those who frequented his school were *Baudouin*, *Juliard*, *Leprince*, *Deshayes*, and *Fragonard*. Baudouin and Deshayes married his daughters\*. The latter of these two artists died in 1765, at the age of 36. He had more vigour and force than the greater part of his contemporaries, and might have become a considerable painter†.

*Jean Baptiste Leprince* was born at Metz in 1733, and died in 1781. The picture which he exhibited on his reception into the Academy was one of a Russian baptism; it is very highly spoken of by Diderot and Gault de St. Germain‡.

*Jean Honoré Fragonard* carried off the great prize of painting in 1752, and did not die until 1807. Diderot's account of one of his pictures, an oval, representing groups of children in the sky, begins as follows:—"C'est une belle et grande omelette d'enfants; il y en a par centaines, tous entrelacés les uns dans les autres, têtes, cuisses, jambes, corps, bras, avec un art tout particulier; mais cela est sans force, sans couleur, sans profondeur, sans distinction des plans."§ It is impossible

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 226.

† Ibid. p. 231; compare Diderot, *Salon de 1761*, *Œuvres*, viii. p. 25.

‡ Gault de St. Germain, p. 229; Diderot, *Essai sur la Peinture*, *Œuvres*, viii. p. 473.

§ *Salon de 1767*, *Œuvres*, ix. p. 479.

to conceive a better description of a large number of ceilings, in which groups of cupids or angels figure. Fragonard was a native of Grasse, in Provence.

*Carlo Andrea Vanloo*, commonly called *Carle Vanloo*, was one of a large family of artists who enjoyed a great reputation in France in the eighteenth century, but whose fame has left scarcely a trace behind it. This master was the son of Louis Vanloo, himself a painter, and was born at Nice, in 1705. The year after his birth the Duc de Berwick besieged the town; a shell fell on the house, went through the roof and the ceilings, and destroyed the cradle of the infant, who had been carried into the cellar by his brother, and thus escaped\*. Vanloo's first instructor in art was Benedetto Luti, and he ended, as Waagen says, in uniting the dashing manner and gaudy colour of the Italians of his day with the mannerism and affectation of the French school. His picture of the Marriage of the Virgin, in the Louvre, is not in his usual style, but is executed in the smooth manner of Vanderwerf†. His fame has gone on decreasing since the day of his death, when it stood very high; his pictures have, however, brought large prices at sales‡.

*Jean Baptiste Vanloo*, born at Aix in 1684, was the elder brother of Carle. Whatever money he had acquired in the early part of his life he lost in Law's Mississippi scheme, and came to England, in 1737, with

\* Diderot, *Salon de 1765*, *Œuvres*, viii. p. 110. This was the year of Vanloo's death.

† Waagen's *Paris*, s. 670.

‡ Gault de St. Germain, p. 237, note.

his son. Here he was patronized by Sir Robert Walpole and by the Prince of Wales, and became a fashionable portrait-painter. He returned to Provence in 1742, and died in 1745 \*. At Hampton Court will be seen two portraits by this master: one a full-length of Frederick the Great of Prussia; the other of Frederick, Prince of Wales.

*Louis Michel Vanloo*, the son of the master just named, was born at Toulon, in 1707, and settled himself at Madrid, in 1736, where he became first painter to the king. His death took place in 1771 †. Another member of the same family, *Charles Amadée Philippe Vanloo*, was the court painter to the King of Prussia, and exhibited some of his works in France in the year 1777.

*Louis Jean François La Grénée*, born at Paris in 1724, was a master who, in his own day, acquired a certain reputation. Diderot, writing in 1765, called him "*Magnæ spes altera Romæ*," but in 1767 he retracts this compliment, and takes occasion, among other things, to say, "Que vous peignez mal, M. La Grénée; mais que vous êtes heureux d'ignorer tout cela!" ‡

*Maurice Quantin Latour* was born at St. Quentin in 1705, became a member of the Academy in 1746, and died in 1788. He excelled in portraits, which he executed in crayons.

\* Dallaway's Walpole, iv. p. 115. Gault de St. Germain (p. 239) speaks of Jean Baptiste as having painted in Spain—this I conceive to be an error for England, caused by the stay of Louis Michel, the son, in the former country.

† Compare Cean Bermudez, Diccion. v. p. 127.

‡ Salon de 1765, Œuvres, viii. p. 140; Salon de 1767, Œuvres, ix. pp. 103. 107.

*Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin*, born at Paris in 1699, was received as a member of the Academy in 1728, and died in 1780. He was an artist of considerable ability and force, and painted portraits, interiors, and occasionally flowers. Three of his pictures will be found in the Louvre\*.

Before I pass on to masters who have earned a real and lasting reputation, I think it worth while to record one very obscure name for the sake of Diderot's description of his picture; this picture was the Apotheosis of St. Augustin, by *Hugues Taraval*, a painter whose best work was an etching of a Venetian fête after Tintoret; he died at the Gobelins, in 1785, aged 55 years. The criticism begins as follows:—

“Will he get up? or will he not? Upon my word I can't say. All I see is, if he tumbles and breaks his neck, it won't be his own fault, but that of those two vile angels who see how he is struggling and only laugh at him. Perhaps they are two Pelagian angels. But just look how the poor saint moves himself about and throws out his arms! How he struggles and swims up against the ochre-coloured sky! Now what surprises us most is, that he ought to fly up without any difficulty at all, like a feather, for there is no body under his garment. This, at any rate, in case he should fall, makes me easy with reference to that poor woman and the child underneath him, whom he kills already sufficiently by his colour.”†

\* Supplément, Nos. 1289—1291.

† Salon de 1765, Œuvres, viii. p. 345.

Many a picture of an Apotheosis or an Assumption is open to criticism of precisely the same sort as Diderot here pours out on this unhappy artist \*.

*Claude Joseph Vernet* was born at Avignon, in 1714; his father, Antoine, was also a painter, and from him Joseph acquired the rudiments of his art. At eighteen years of age he went to Italy, and continued to study at Rome. In these days he is said to have been reduced to paint a picture in exchange for a suit of clothes †. In 1743 he became a member of the Academy of St. Luke, and in the same year married a lady of the name of Parker, whose father was an English Catholic employed in the pope's navy. On receiving an invitation from Louis XV. through M. de Mangny, Vernet returned to France after an absence of twenty-two years. It was on his passage from Leghorn that the incident occurred which has furnished Horace Vernet with the subject of the picture now in the Luxembourg.—A tempest of such violence as to terrify every one else on board, only excited Vernet's desire to profit by the grandeur of the scene: he caused

\* I shall have occasion again to quote Diderot's descriptions of pictures, with reference to Vernet and Greuze. They are very characteristic of the writer, full of cleverness and wit, and most powerful in conveying an idea of what he was describing. They were addressed to Grimm, and were not published, in a collective form at least, until after the author's death. Here, as elsewhere, he was thoroughly unscrupulous as to what he said, provided he expressed what he meant, and his stories and illustrations will often not bear being quoted. A. W. Schlegel says, "It would be a true imperial luxury to get a collection of pictures described for one's self by Diderot."—*Werke*, i. s. 431.

† This picture appears to have been exhibited long afterwards in the Salon of 1767. See Diderot, *Œuvres*, ix. p. 229.



himself to be lashed to the mast, and proceeded with his sketch-book to record, as well as he could, the impression produced by the waves and sky. It is not a little interesting to see such a painting as this, executed by an artist of the highest genius, himself the grandson of the hero of the tale\*.

Louis XV. gave Joseph Vernet the commission to paint that series of views of the French ports, fifteen in number, which are now in the Louvre. Before his death he had the pleasure of seeing his son, Carle, received as a member of the French Academy. His own pictures, executed between 1752 and 1789, are said to amount to upwards of two hundred†. In commenting on the Salon of 1765, Diderot exclaims:—

“Twenty-five pictures, my good friend! twenty-five pictures! And what pictures! It is like creation for its rapidity; it is like nature for its truth. There is scarcely one of these pictures on which a painter might not have employed his time well in working the two years which Vernet has spent in painting the whole.” A little further on he adds, “Chardin and Vernet are two great magicians: one would say of the latter that he begins by creating the country, and that he has a store of men, women, and children ready to people his canvas, as we people a colony: when it is done, he

\* Looking to the grandeur of the storm and the general effect of the picture, I doubt the propriety of introducing such incidents as that of the one man who is sea-sick, and the other who has had his hat blown off.

† *Biographie Universelle*, whence the account in the text is principally taken.

makes for them their weather, their sky, their seasons, their prosperity or adversity, according as it pleases him. He is like Lucian's Jupiter, who, tired of hearing the lamentable cries of mortals, gets up and calls out, 'Some hail in Thrace;' when at once the trees are stripped, the harvests cut to pieces, and the thatch of the cottages scattered to the winds — or, 'A plague in Asia,' and we see the doors of the houses closed, the streets deserted, and men flying in all directions. 'A volcano here,' and straightway the earth rocks, the buildings totter, the animals are scared, and the inhabitants of the towns rush into the country: 'A war there,' and nations rush to arms and slaughter one another. 'In that place a famine,' and the aged labourer is seen to perish with hunger on his own threshold. Lucian's Jupiter calls this governing the world, and he is wrong—Vernet calls it making pictures, and he is right." \*

Many of Vernet's early works, such as those in the Palazzo Rondanini at Rome, were based on the imitation of Salvator Rosa: his later style was softer, and more mellow in tone. His composition is excellent, and no painter ever chose his points of view better, or suited his figures to his landscape more skilfully. His drawing is for the most part good, though his knowledge of shipping was not so accurate as his subjects required. His trees are not perfect, and the colour, though pure and true to nature in the tint, wants transparency in many of his works. Of the views of sea-ports which Waagen saw in the Louvre, he prefers those of Cette, Bordeaux

\* Diderot, *Salon de 1765*, Œuvres viii. p. 201. I presume Diderot alludes to the Icaromenippus of Lucian, cap. 25.

and Toulon, to the rest. The view of the Ponte Rotto, and of the Castle of St. Angelo, in that collection, are selected by the same critic as favourable specimens of the master, on account of the feeling for nature, the warmth and harmony of tone, the delicacy of the aerial perspective, the transparency of their colour, and the softness of their execution. No. 295 is a storm, with a number of men assisting some shipwrecked sailors, in which the light and shade, the sky and the sea, are all good. No. 296 is a more tranquil scene; the bright moonlight is reflected on the sea, and there is a fire in the fore-ground, at which some fishermen are preparing their food. No. 297 is another storm, with a shipwreck in the fore-ground. This picture bears the date 1762, and is very effective\*. Vernet died at Paris, in 1789, at the age of seventy-seven.

In the year 1826, the Athenæum of Vacluse gave a prize for the best poetical eulogy on Joseph Vernet. When the ceremony of adjudging it took place, the interest was much enhanced by the presence of the artist's son and grandson, Carle and Horace Vernet, both of them holding a very high rank in their profession. The elder of the two then presented to the town of Avignon his picture of the Roman horse-race, and the younger gave his Mazeppa, as memorials of the fête.

In connection with Vernet, I may mention as French landscape-painters three artists of the same name. The first of these was *Jean François Millet* or *Milet*, commonly called *Francisque*, who was born at Antwerp in

\* Waagen's Paris, s. 678.

1643, and was a pupil of L. Franck. He afterwards went to Paris, and, having imitated the works of Poussin, became a member of the French Academy, and continued to paint landscape in the heroic style. He died in 1680\*.

His son, *Jean*, or *Jean François Millet*, was born at Paris in 1666, and died in 1723, himself leaving a son, *Joseph François* (1697—1777). Both these latter artists are occasionally called *Francisque*, and both imitated the style of Jean François, who came from Antwerp.

I now pass on to the artist who, of all the French school, is perhaps the most popular at the present day.

*Jean Baptiste Greuze* was born at Tournus in Burgundy, in 1726. He was taken to Lyons by an artist of that city of the name of Grandon, and received some instruction from him, but his knowledge and his power as a painter were derived from a constant and careful study of nature. Like other men, he was destined to meet with mortification, because he aspired precisely to that species of fame which he was least capable of attaining. The account of his admission into the Academy is thus given by Diderot to Grimm†:—

“ You know, my friend, that the artists who confine themselves to the imitation of low nature, and to scenes from the country, or from ordinary domestic life, are placed in a separate class of painters of genre. The historical painters compose the other class, from which alone the candidates for the office of professor, and

\* Nagler, *Künstler Lexicon*; compare Kugler's *Germany*, and *Flemish Schools*, p. 315.

† *Salon de 1769*; *Œuvres*, x. p. 127.

other places of honour connected with the Academy, are taken.

“ Now Greuze, who with good reason is not deficient in self-esteem, proposed to paint a historical picture, and thus to acquire a right to all the honours of his profession. He had chosen for his subject, ‘The Emperor Septimius Severus reproaching his son, Caracalla, with having attempted to murder him.’ The day came, when this picture, finished with the greatest care, and talked of by the artist himself as a work which was to compete with Poussin’s best productions, after having been seen by the director and a commission of the Academy, was presented to that body. You may well suspect that it was not looked on with very favourable eyes, Greuze had for so long a time shown an open and undisguised contempt of his brother artists and their works.

“ What passes on these occasions is as follows: The Academy is assembled; the picture is placed on an easel in the middle of the hall; the Academicians examine it there. Meanwhile the candidate, alone in another room, walks up and down, or sits still and waits for his sentence. Greuze, if I am not mistaken, was very little disturbed as to the decision in his case.

“ At the end of an hour the folding-doors are thrown open: Greuze went in; the director addressed him—‘Monsieur, the Academy receives you as its member: come forward and take the oath.’ Greuze, delighted, immediately goes through all the formalities of his reception. When they were over, the Director said to him—‘Monsieur, the Academy has received you, but it is

as a painter of genre. We have considered your former productions, which are excellent, and we have shut our eyes to this picture, which is worthy neither of our own body, nor of yourself.'

"At this moment, Greuze, defeated in all his hopes, lost his head, and, like a child, took to maintaining the goodness of his picture, until it came to La Grénée pulling his pencil out of his pocket, in order to mark on the canvas itself the faults in the drawing of his figures.

"You will ask, What would any other person have done? Another man—I, for instance—would have taken his knife from his pocket, and would have cut the picture to pieces. He would then have put the frame round his neck, and, as he carried it off, have told the Academy that he would not be a member of their body, either as a painter of genre or a painter of history. He would have gone home, and, having spared the marvellous heads of Papinian and the Senator, he would have framed them. He would thus have left the Academy confounded and disgraced—yes, my friend, disgraced—for the picture of Greuze, before it was presented, passed for a *chef d'œuvre*, and the fragments of it, which he might thus have preserved, would have perpetuated this prejudice in its favour; these superb remains would have raised a presumption of the beauty of the rest, and the first amateur who came would have bought them for their weight in gold.

"Instead of this, Greuze remained thoroughly convinced of the merit of his own work, and of the injustice of the Academy, and returned home to undergo the

reproaches of the most violent of women. His picture he left to be exhibited at the Salon, and thus gave his partisans time to undeceive themselves, and to acknowledge that he had, in fact, been awkward enough to offer to his brother artists, angry as they were with him, a glorious opportunity for repaying at one blow, and without any injustice, all the contempt which he had shown for them."

Greuze died in Paris in 1805, at the age of eighty, and left two daughters.

I will begin by speaking of his pictures in the Louvre. No. 62 is *L'Accordée de Village*, which was originally painted for M. de Boisset, and exhibited in the Salon of 1761. This picture was purchased by the king for no less than 16,650 livres, at the sale of M. de Menars, who had bought it of the original possessor for 9000\*.

The reader will thank me for translating at length the account of this picture given by Diderot†.

"At last I have seen it, this picture of our friend Greuze; but it was not without some trouble, for it continues to attract the crowd. It is a Father who has just paid the dowry of his daughter. The subject is pathetic, and a tender feeling comes over one as one looks at it. The composition appears to me very good; it is, in fact, the event as it would take place. There are twelve figures; each is in its place, and does what it ought to do. How they are all connected together, and how they fall into flowing and pyramidal forms!

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 253.

† Salon de 1761; Œuvres, viii. p. 64—71.

I laugh at these conditions of art ; and yet when they occur in a picture by chance, without the painter having intended to introduce them, or without his having sacrificed any thing to them, they give me pleasure.

“ On the right of the spectator is a notary, seated at a little table, with his back towards us. On the table are the contract of marriage and other papers. Between the legs of the notary is the youngest child of the family. Next to him, in following the composition from right to left, is an elder daughter standing, and leaning on the back of her father's chair. The father is seated in the family arm-chair. Before him stands his son-in-law, holding in his left hand the bag which contains the dowry. The betrothed maiden stands by him, with one arm gently passed under that of her lover, whilst the other is clasped by her mother, who sits under it. Between the bride and the mother stands a younger sister, leaning on the former, and with one arm thrown over her shoulders. Behind this group a young child raises itself on tip-toe to try and see what is going on. Below the mother, in front, sits a little girl with some bread cut into bits in her apron ; and quite to the left, in the background, far from the principal figures, stand two servant-maids looking on. On the right is a very clean cupboard, with the things which are usually kept in it, making part of the background. In the middle, an old gun is hung up on its hook, and then comes a wooden staircase which leads to the upper story. In the foreground, on the space left vacant by the figures, and close to the feet of the



mother, is a hen with her chickens, to which the little girl is throwing bread; an earthen vase full of water, and on the edge of it a chicken with its head in the air, so as to swallow the water which it has drunk. This is the general outline of the composition. Now for the details.

“ The notary has a black coat, coloured breeches and stockings, with his cloak, his *rabat*, and his hat on. He has somewhat of a crafty and pettifogging air, such as suits a peasant of his profession; but he has a striking look. He listens to what the father is saying to his son-in-law; for it is the father alone who speaks, whilst the rest listen in silence. The child between the notary's legs is excellent for its truth, its action, and its colour. It takes no interest in what is going on, but looks at the scraps of paper which it fumbles at with its little hands. We see that the elder sister, who leans on the back of her father's chair, is ready to burst with grief and jealousy, because her younger sister has got the start of her. She rests her head on one of her hands, and looks at the betrothed pair with glances of curiosity, vexation, and anger.

“ The father is an old man of sixty, with grey hair, and a handkerchief tied round his neck; he has a touching look of simplicity. With his arms stretched out towards his son-in-law, he addresses him with a warmth of feeling which enchants us. He seems to say—‘ Jeanette is gentle and well conducted; she will make you happy; take care to make her so’—or something of the same sort on the importance of the duties imposed by

marriage; whatever he says, it is assuredly sound and touching. One of his hands, of which we see the back, is tanned and brown; the other, of which the palm is shown, is white: this is natural.

"The bridegroom has altogether a pleasing countenance; his face is tanned, but his complexion is evidently fair; he leans a little towards his father-in-law, and listens to what he says in a manner which shows that he feels it; he is well made, and well dressed, but not so as to be unbecoming his station. I may say the same of all the other figures.

"The painter has given the bride a charming expression of countenance, modest and reserved. She is admirably dressed; that apron of white linen is perfect. In her ornaments there is a little luxury, but then it is her wedding-day. You should see how true to nature are the folds of the dress of this and all the other figures in the picture. The charming girl does not stand quite upright, but the gentle and soft inclination which runs through her whole figure and her limbs is full of grace and truth. Most assuredly she is pretty—very pretty. Her bosom is exquisitely formed; and, though it is covered, I will wager that it derives no assistance from art. Had she done more for her lover, she would have wanted proper reserve; had she done more for her parents, she would have been false. She holds her arm half passed through that of her betrothed, and the ends of her fingers rest gently on his hand; this is the only mark of affection which she bestows on him, and perhaps it is without her own

knowledge; it is an idea full of delicacy on the part of the painter.

"The mother is an excellent farmer's wife, near upon sixty, but in good health, and admirably dressed. With one hand she holds the upper part of her daughter's arm, and with the other she clasps it just above the wrist; she is seated, and seems to look her daughter over from head to foot; she does not like parting from her, but yet it is a good match—Jean is a good fellow—respectable and industrious—she does not doubt that her daughter will be happy with him. Joy and tenderness are mingled in the countenance of this good mother.

"As to the younger sister, who stands by the side of the bride, and embraces her whilst she weeps on her bosom, she is altogether a most interesting person. She feels real grief at parting from her sister, and she cries on that account; but this accidental circumstance does not throw a gloom over the whole picture, on the contrary, it adds to its effect. There is taste, and very good taste, in the conception of this episode. The two children, one of whom, seated by its mother's side, amuses itself by throwing bread to the hen and her little family, and the other stands on tiptoe, and stretches out its neck to see, are both charming, but especially the latter. The two maids standing up in the background, and carelessly leaning one against the other, appear to say by their attitudes and their faces, 'Well, when will our turn come?'

"And this hen who has led her chickens right into the

middle of the scene, and who has five or six little ones, just as the mother, at whose feet she seeks her bread, has five or six children, and the little girl who feeds them and throws bread to them—it must be acknowledged that all this is admirably suited to the subject of the picture, as well as to the place and the characters which compose it. It is a little bit of poetry altogether ingenious in its conception.”

“It is the father who principally fixes our attention, after him the bridegroom, and then the bride, the mother, the younger or elder sister according to the character of the person who looks at the picture; next follow the notary, the other children, the servants, and the background. All this is a clear proof that the picture is well composed.

“Teniers, perhaps, paints ordinary life with greater truth. It would be more easy to recognise the scenes and characters of this painter, but there is in Greuze a nature which is more refined, more graceful, and more pleasing. The peasants of the latter are not on the one hand coarse, like the boors of the Flemish master, nor are they on the other mere phantoms, like the peasants of Boucher. I hold Teniers to be very superior to Greuze in colour. I believe him also to be a more fertile artist; in addition to every thing else he was great in landscape, in trees, in forests, in water, in mountains in cottages, and in animals.

“Greuze may be reproached with repeating the same head in three different pictures. The head of the father paying his daughter's dowry, and that of the father reading to his family, are the same as the head of the Paralytic

man. At any rate they are three brothers, who bear a great family likeness to each other.

“ Another fault is this—the elder sister—is she a sister, or is she a servant? If she is a servant, she has no business to be leaning on the back of her master's chair, and I do not know why she should so much envy the lot of one who is her mistress; if she is a daughter of the house, why has she that low look, and why is she so ill dressed? Whether she like the marriage or not, she ought to have been properly dressed for the wedding of a sister. I see that most people mistake her for a servant, and that others are embarrassed about her. I am not sure that this head of the elder sister is not the same as that of “ the Washerwoman.”

“ A very clever woman has observed that this picture is made up of nature studied in two different places. She maintains that the notary, the bridegroom, and the father are without doubt peasants—real country people; but that the mother, the bride, and the other figures all come from the *Halle*, at Paris. The mother is a great fruit-woman, or fish-woman, and the daughter a pretty flower-girl. This remark is at least acute; it is for you to say whether it be just. But it is better to overlook these trifles, and to admire without restraint a picture which abounds with beauties on all sides; it is most certainly the best thing which Greuze has painted. It does him honour, not only as a painter skilled in his art, but as a man of genius and of taste. Its composition is full of genius and delicacy. His choice of subjects shows his sensibility and his amiable character.”

Waagen observes truly enough that there is a certain analogy between the sentiment of Greuze and that of Sterne. Of this picture he adds that the national character of France is in it seized with the same success, as that of England has been by Wilkie. The execution is admirable, but the tone is somewhat cold and pinkish \*. The other pictures by Greuze in the Louvre are the departure of the disobedient son and his return (Nos. 63 and 64); two portraits, one of the artist himself, and another of a certain Jeaurat; besides these there is the broken pitcher, one of those works of this master which may be supposed to imply a double meaning, such as Diderot ascribes to the picture of the girl weeping over her dead bird †.

It would, indeed, have been singular, if Greuze had remained untainted by the affectation and sentiment of his own day; these qualities abound in many of his heads, and are joined with those traces of the ordinary tendency to theatrical treatment, which characterize the French school. The class too from which his models were taken is sufficiently obvious. His colouring is unequal, but often very good. Mr. Munro, in this country, has a head painted with a warmth and truth in the carnations which surprize us, whilst, on the other hand, too many of the master's works have the look of heads executed in enamel upon the lid of a snuff-box; in those of this quality there is a want of transparency, except so

\* Waagen's Paris, s. 675.

† Salon de 1765, Œuvres, viii. p. 246. I presume the latter is the picture which is stated in Smith's Catalogue (No. 77) to belong to General Ramsay.

far as the cold gray, in which the ground is painted, seems to show through the pink and white surface of the skin : in relief and roundness it is flesh, but there is no blood beneath it. Great allowances, however, must be made for so popular a master, on account of the number of pictures which he painted, and the still greater number which serve to damage his reputation, because they bear his name without being executed by him.

In the Queen's Collection is a very good specimen of Greuze, called "*La Trompette*," the subject of which is a mother with three children ; she tries to silence her little boy blowing a penny trumpet, lest he should wake the other two \*. Mr. Wells of Redleaf has a picture of a girl holding a basket of eggs in her lap and two young pigeons in her hand † ; another, of a somewhat similar subject and finer quality, belongs to Mr. Holford. Lord Lansdowne's Collection contains two good specimens of this master, and there are many scattered about in different houses in this country.

I now come to the master who was, in fact, the link between the old and new school of art in France.

*Joseph Vien* was born in 1716, and died in 1809. If the works of Carle Vanloo make the lowest point of debasement, those of Vien show the first symptoms of an attempt to rise. There is at least an effort to attain simplicity in attitudes, expression, and drapery ; his colour is often warm and transparent, and the execution of his pictures is careful ‡. The two pictures of Vien

\* Smith's Catalogue Raisonné, No. 57.

† Since the MS. was sent to the press Mr. Wells is dead.

‡ Waagen's Paris, s. 670.

in the Louvre are one of St. Vincent and St. Germain crowned by an angel, and another of a Sleeping hermit. Vien was the master of David.

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## CHAPTER V.

### SCHOOL OF DAVID AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

THE political surface of Europe presents itself to us at the present day as if a deluge had swept over it: the ancient landmarks of states and kingdoms have been obliterated: old institutions have been torn up by their roots, and the very language which described the acts of the Holy Roman Empire or the Parliament of Paris has become unintelligible. The etiquette of the "*grandes et petites entrées*," and the ceremonies of the *Œil de Bœuf*, have passed from the face of France. So it has been with the fine arts: the indecent affectation of Boucher, and the *mignardises* of Watteau, gave place to affectation of a different kind and to airs and graces of an opposite character. The revolution in politics was accompanied by an analogous revolution in art. With regard to the results of the change, the governments of France and of Europe, since 1789, have been far from tranquil or perfect, but still no man will deny that on the whole the storm of the Revolution has cleared the air, and has produced a state of things better than that which existed previously. So the more modern works of art



in France and the neighbouring countries often shock us by their exaggeration and pedantry, but no one will hesitate to prefer the school of David to that of Carle Vanloo.

It is singular that one and the same man should have been a prominent actor in revolutionizing both the political institutions and the arts in his own country. It is not often that painters are thrust forward into public life, and it certainly is not possible for any one to make a less creditable appearance in such a capacity than that made by *Jacques Louis David*, the founder of the new French school of painting. He was born at Paris in 1748. His father was a tradesman, but got killed in a duel, and the son was placed under the guardianship of his uncle. The boy set his heart on becoming an artist, and having overcome the resistance of his friends entered the school of Boucher. This master saw that his teaching afforded no nutriment to his scholar, and had the candour to transfer him to Vien. David obtained the second prize of painting in 1772; it is said that the first would have been awarded to him, but that Vien, who was piqued at his scholar competing for the prize without his knowledge, got his claims set aside in favour of another. In 1773 and 1774 David was unsuccessful, but in 1775 his *Antiochus and Stratonice* was honoured with the first premium.

A year or two afterwards he proceeded to Rome, where the doctrines of Winckelmann, seconded by the discoveries at Herculaneum and Pompeii, were beginning to revive the severer imitation of ancient art. The young Frenchman found that he had much to unlearn,

and it was not long before Vien discovered in his works the traces of that influence which he was one day to exercise over his countrymen and his contemporaries. In 1779 David painted the picture of the Plague, which, with several other horrible representations of the same kind, now hangs in the hall of the Office of Health at Marseilles—all probably intended to encourage the rigorous enforcement of quarantine by the officers, and to soften the irritation of those who are submitted to its discipline, by demonstrating in the most disgusting form the expediency of such an establishment. This picture was exhibited at Paris in 1780, the year in which the artist composed his *Belisarius*\*. In 1783 David was received as a member of the Academy, and was lodged in the Louvre with the title of *Peintre du Roi*. He painted a good many portraits, and his school prospered; among his pupils at this time were Girodet, Drouais, and Fabre. Louis XVI. gave him a commission for the picture of "*Le Serment des Horaces*," which he finished at Rome in 1784. In 1787 he returned to Paris and painted his *Death of Socrates*.

David was an active member of the Jacobins' Club, and was elected to the Convention for the section of the Museum. His political career was not unconnected with his position as an artist. As his sympathies in art were with the Greeks and Romans, so he fancied that his patriotic tendencies were to be cast in an antique mould. It mattered not to the French patriots of that day that they were profoundly ignorant of the

\* The latter is now at Lord Shrewsbury's at Alton Towers. See Waagen's *England*, ii. s. 464; compare below, p. 336.

institutions of those nations whom they proposed to imitate, and could not for the most part even read the language of one of them. The Greeks and Romans, different as they were from each other, were mixed up together in their notions as "the ancients;" and their imitation of the antique was pedantic and grotesque in proportion to their ignorance. Their fêtes, under David's guidance, were supposed to be modelled on the festivals of Greece and Rome, and the official costumes of the Republic were designed by him on the same principles. Their legislation was to follow ancient precedents\*, and their virtue was to be pure and incorruptible as the patriotism of Aristides or Brutus.

In reality, their manners resembled those of the ancients about as much as David's "*Serment du Jeu de Paume*" resembles the frieze of the Parthenon or the Aldobrandini marriage. The mob of Athens, when they voted

\* One of the most amusing instances of the union of ignorance with the determination to imitate the antique is to be found in the following note, addressed by Hérault de Séchelles to the librarian of the Public Library in 1793 :

"7 Juin, 1793, l'an II. de la Républ. Franc.

"Cher Concitoyen,—Chargé avec quatre de mes collègues de préparer pour Lundi un plan de constitution, je vous prie en leur nom et au mien de nous procurer sur-le-champ les lois de Minos, qui doivent se trouver dans un recueil de lois Grecques : nous en avons un besoin urgent.

*Signé, Hérault de Séchelles."*

(Artaud, Machiavel et ses Œuvres, Paris, 1833.)

Hérault de Séchelles was guillotined with Danton's party in 1794 : for the making of this Constitution see Thiers, *Hist. de la Rev.* v. p. 58. It is impossible for any thing to be more characteristic than such a note : the Constitution which was to be ready by Monday—the determination to consult "les lois de Minos"—and the style in which they are sought for, are all admirable in their way.

the massacre of Mytilene, would have shrunk from the deeds of the Convention ; and neither the Agora nor the Forum, in their wildest mood, would have tolerated the indecent raving of Marat. Yet it grieves one to say that David was Marat's intimate friend and associate both in private and political life. On the 6th of January, 1793, the artist seconded Marat in the most violent manner ; on the 10th of April and 20th of May he joined in the attacks on the Girondists, and on the latter of these days he addressed Vergniaud in the words —“ C'est toi qui es un assassin ”—“ C'est toi, monstre, qui es un assassin.” In truth David's voice was such as not to allow of his success in the character of an orator, and he therefore attempted to make up for the deficiency in regular harangues by the energy of these little interjectional speeches. After Marat's assassination he made a most characteristic statement to the Convention, in which traces of the feeling of an artist peep out ; though the notion of the “ interest ” of the attitude in which the leprous corpse of such a man as Marat was to be placed for public exhibition is something too horrible to be dwelt upon. In the Séance of the 15th of July, 1793, David rose and spoke as follows :—

“ La veille de la mort de Marat la Société des Jacobins nous envoya, Maure et moi, nous informer de ses nouvelles ; je le trouvai dans une attitude qui me frappa. Il avait auprès de lui un billot de bois, sur lequel étaient placés de l'encre et du papier, et sa main sortie de la baignoire écrivait ses dernières pensées pour le salut du peuple. Hier le chirurgien qui a embaumé son corps m'a envoyé demander de quelle manière nous l'exposerions aux regards du peuple, dans l'église des

Cordeliers. On ne peut point découvrir quelques parties de son corps, car vous savez qu'il avait une lèpre et que son sang était brûlé ; mais j'ai pensé qu'il serait intéressant de l'offrir dans l'attitude où je l'ai trouvé écrivant pour le bonheur du peuple."\*

But worse remains behind ; Pache, Chaumette, Hébert, and David composed that commission which went to the Temple to question Madame Elisabeth and the children of Louis XVI. for the purpose of extracting from them, or rather of suggesting to them, matter criminatory of Marie Antoinette as a mother. Of all the atrocious acts committed in the French Revolution this was the meanest and most cowardly ; compared with it, the massacres of September were fair fighting, and the death of the Girondists a calm judicial act ; eternal infamy must attach to the name of every man who took a part in it.

David adhered closely to Robespierre, and on the 8th of Thermidor—the day before his fall—he stated his readiness to drink the cup prepared for his leader†. When however the crisis was over, and, on the 13th of Thermidor, the public voice called aloud for David's arrest, the artist shrank from all his professions of respect for Robespierre, and pretended to have been deceived in him. "He had had a lesson," he said, "and would henceforward trust not in men, but in principles." This disavowal came too late, and he was imprisoned :

\* *Moniteur* du 17 Juillet, 1793.

† Robespierre said, "Il ne me restera plus bientôt qu'à boire la cigue ;" when David started up and exclaimed, "Robespierre, si tu la bois, je vide la coupe avec toi !"—See David's Life in the Supplement to the *Biographie Universelle*.

in a few months he was liberated, but he never felt thoroughly secure until after 18th Brumaire. So ended the active political career of David.

Under the Consulate, and during the reign of Napoleon, the artist was treated with the greatest consideration. The Emperor was a true patron of the arts, for he had the sense to perceive the real reputation which attached to supremacy in that department, and he was aware of the *prestige* which they exercised over the French. His answer to the president and delegates of the fourth class of the Institute, when they presented their report on the arts, is an excellent specimen of the sort of bombast, with an affectation of Roman conciseness, which often characterized his orders of the day and his addresses—

“Athènes et Rome sont encore célèbres par leur succès dans les arts ; l'Italie, dont les peuples me sont chers à tant de titres, s'est distinguée la première parmi les nations modernes. J'ai à cœur de voir les artistes Français effacer la gloire d'Athènes et de l'Italie. C'est à vous de réaliser de si belles espérances.” \*

David, we are told, might have been a member of the Council of State, or of the Senate, had he so pleased ; but he accepted nothing beyond the riband of the Legion of Honour : possibly he had had enough of political life. After the second restoration, in 1816, the artist took up his residence in Brussels, and rejected offers made him

\* Gault de St. Germain, p. 315. I have not translated this and one or two other quotations in the foregoing pages, because to do so would be to deprive them, in a great degree, of their character : they would not tell with the same effect in English.

by the minister, Von Humboldt, on the part of the King of Prussia. It is even said that the Pope was willing to receive him at Rome, though he owned that he had been a good deal alarmed when compelled in France to sit to the regicide painter against his will, and locked up alone with him \*.

David remained at Brussels until his death, which took place on the 29th of December, 1825; he had continued to paint up to the 15th of the same month. The sums received for David's principal pictures were large: Louis XVIII. paid 60,000 francs for that of the Sabine women, and the same sum for the Leonidas, in addition to a sum of 20,000 francs for the right to engrave them. The former of these two works produced 24,000 francs clear profit by its exhibition. His great picture of the Coronation cost Napoleon 105,000 francs; and the equestrian portrait of the Emperor, 25,000; four duplicates of the latter were sold, each for the same sum. Payments on this scale, in addition to the profits of his *atelier*, had made David a rich man, and he died with an annual income of 80,000 francs †.

The picture of the Sabine women, just referred to, was painted in 1799, and is supposed to mark the second period of the artist; whilst the Leonidas, executed in 1814, is taken as characteristic of the transition to his third manner ‡.

\* This is hardly credible, at least so far as the locking up goes, even with reference to the treatment of the pope by Napoleon; but see *Biographie Universelle, Supplément*.

† *Biographie Universelle, Supplément*.

‡ Nagler, *Künstler Lexicon*, iii. s. 289.

Waagen gives the following account of David and of his works in the Louvre :—

“ When he was still young, he composed his picture of Tullia driving over the dead body of her father ; and before the outbreak of the Revolution he chose examples of the stern virtue of Roman republicanism as subjects for pictures executed on the commission of Louis XVI. Whilst the Revolution was going on, he painted his *Serment du Jeu de Paume* \*, and the Death of Marat. Up to the time of the fall of Napoleon he maintained the same sentiments, as is shown by his Leonidas. Many of his portraits prove that he was endowed with a very pure feeling for nature, but in his historical pictures this feeling is obscured by false principles respecting the imitation of the antique, as well as by exaggeration in the motives of his figures †. Lastly, one of his great drawbacks is the want of a sound foundation in the technical part of his art—a defect inherited by most of his scholars, so that the colours of these works have in part grown darker, and in part cracked. The following pictures exhibit the changes which he passed through in the course of his career :—

\* I remember reading an essay of M. Louis Viardot's, in which he undertook to prove that the *Serment du Jeu de Paume* was strictly a *religious* picture, inasmuch as it embodied in a visible form the great leading doctrine of the Revolution—the triple principle—Liberté, Fraternité, Égalité.

† The reader will recollect other instances referred to above, in which the genuine feeling for nature has been shown in portraits when it has been lost in other works. See what is said as to Lebrun, p. 275 ; compare afterwards the account of the portrait of Pius VII.



"No. 40. Belisarius craving alms of a woman, dated 1784. This is a smaller repetition of the picture belonging to Lord Shrewsbury, at Alton Towers, with some changes in the subordinate parts \*. The colour of this one is somewhat more pink and rosy than that of the other. No. 36. Horatius, in the presence of his family, delivers to his three sons their swords; the sons swear to defend their country to the last gasp; signed *L. David faciebat Romæ Anno MDCCLXXXIV.* This picture was painted on a commission of Louis XVI., and the enthusiastic admiration which it created at the time of its execution is, to unprejudiced persons, in some degree explained, when they see the correct and careful drawing of the figures of the men, the beauty of the female forms, the style of the drapery (which is the result of much study), all joined with a force, transparency, and warmth of colouring unusual in David. At the same time, the repetition of the same theatrical attitude in all the three brothers, marching up one behind another and covering one another in the picture, shows great poverty of invention, whilst the uniformity of their position exhibits a want of taste; the heads too are vague, and either deficient in expression or exaggerated. No. 41. Paris and Helen, after his unsuccessful combat with Menelaus, was executed in 1788, for the Comte d'Artois. The subject was less congenial with the spirit of

\* The original was executed in 1780, when the artist was thirty-two years old. Lord Shrewsbury bought his picture, with some others, from Madame Mère. See Waagen's *England*, ii. s. 464; compare above, p. 329.

David than that of the last picture; yet the figure of Helen is refined in expression, and, like that of Paris, elegant in its form. The execution is delicate, and the tone of the whole picture bright and clear, but the cold rosy tint of the flesh, and the choice of the other colours, are such as to produce a tawdry effect. No. 39. Brutus meditates in stern silence on the death of his sons, whom he has condemned to die, whilst his wife and daughters lament at the sight of the bodies carried by the lictors; signed *L. David faciebat Parisiis Anno 1789*. This picture, which was executed for Louis XVI., has great merits, notwithstanding the scattered composition, the exaggerated motives, the disagreeable lines, and the vagueness and affected expression of the heads. The female figures are more than usually refined in form; the taste of the drapery is good; but, above all, here we find a feeling for harmony of colour, transparency in the shadows, and a clear and juicy tone in the flesh to a higher degree than in any other picture of David's which I know. The picture is carried out in all its parts with the utmost conscientiousness. No. 38. The Sabine women. Romulus and Tatius, neither of them with any clothes on, raise their spears for the combat, but Hersilia separates them. Other Sabine women, with their children in their arms, throw themselves between the contending hosts. When we look at this celebrated picture as a whole, the impression produced by it is far from satisfactory. The composition is disjointed, the outlines of the principal figures are jerked about in a disagreeable manner, the attitudes are theatrical, the lights cold, the shadows grey and heavy, and the keeping of the whole is de-

fective. On the other hand, in the details we see many figures of extraordinary beauty of form and admirable modelling: some children in the fore-ground are especially charming, and here and there we thus have bits which are about the best that David ever produced. No. 42. The portrait of Pope Pius VII. in his arm-chair: a half-length, painted at Paris in 1805. This picture is almost a front-face, with the light full upon it. It unites dignity and truth of conception with very fine drawing, masterly modelling, and a touch which is broad and yet delicate in an excellent impasto. The whole, not only the head and hands, but the drapery and the chair, are treated throughout with a perfectly correct feeling for the essence of a portrait. Perhaps, however, that which surprises us most is the delicate harmony and transparent warmth of the colour; the latter quality fails us indeed in the principal shadow of the face, which is somewhat heavy, and in the dirty tone of the reflected lights. No one of David's historical pictures known to me can assume, in its own class, any thing like the same rank that this work properly takes in its character of a portrait. No. 37. Leonidas, with his band, awaits the enemy at Thermopylæ. This picture produces the impression of a canvas on which the painter had set out, next to one another, as they came, various attitudes and ideas which took his fancy. It is precisely too the principal figure—that of Leonidas—which, in its position and expression, is the most unmeaning and theatrical of all: among the rest, preparing themselves for combat, single figures and ideas of great beauty occur. The forms are thicker and less

elegant than those in the picture of the Sabine women ; but on the other hand the tone is warmer, and the keeping of the whole better."

"David must have been an excellent teacher, since most of his scholars have developed their own natural tendencies with great freedom. A few only did homage to his Roman and republican enthusiasm."\*

Among the great works executed by David under the Empire, was his Coronation—a picture of such enormous dimensions that it exceeds by three feet the Marriage of Cana by Paul Veronese: it is thirty feet long, by nineteen feet high. The Emperor is represented placing the crown on the head of Joséphine; the Pope sits by. Another of the same class was the Distribution of the Eagles, in which many of the figures are the same in attitude as those in the Leonidas, but here they are dressed in uniform, whilst there the Spartans are French grenadiers with their clothes off. His portrait of Napoleon crossing the St. Bernard has not the effect of a portrait; it is ideal in more ways than one, for we know that the First Consul, instead of prancing on a charger at the edge of a precipice, really rode over on a donkey. The whole is an abstraction; but there is something extremely fine and solemn about it. On the rock are inscribed the names, Bonaparte, Hannibal, Carolus Magnus.

The observations of Waagen which I have quoted are most just in themselves, and give on the whole a very fair view of David's faults and excellences. In him, as in other French artists and French writers,

\* Waagen's Paris, s. 720.

we meet the rigid adherence to the antique, and to certain fixed rules, framed as if to compensate by their inflexible character for the theatrical exaggeration of expression and passion. The personages in David's pictures are like models in a studio; they convey no impression of reality; there is no genuine life or movement in them: how long they have been in that attitude, or how long they mean to continue in it, we cannot conjecture: they stand in positions like the Horatii, or sit like Leonidas, as if they knew all the world were looking at them. The colour is, for the most part, peculiarly disagreeable; and there is a total want of transparency or of true feeling for the effect of chiar-oscuro. Yet, with all this, one cannot but admire the qualities which David introduced into art. Admirable drawing, and great beauty of form, characterize his productions. The flutter and tawdriness of the artists of Louis XV. is succeeded by a severity and simplicity which, though not free from affectation, and thoroughly French in its character, is yet full of power and truth of a certain kind.

The same German connoisseur to whom I have so often referred goes on to speak of David's followers\*. "Before all," he says, "I must cite the colossal picture of *Lethière* in the Luxembourg, the subject of which is the execution of Brutus's sons before his own eyes. It is well composed, though the parts are theatrical; the keeping is good, the colour warm, and the whole carefully completed; but we miss the fine feeling for form which characterized David. Next comes *Drouais*'

\* Waagen's Paris, s. 724.

picture of the Cimbrian slave shrinking from Marius, whom he is sent to kill. (No. 54 in the Louvre.) The theatrical character is here most conspicuous in the attitudes of both figures, but the power of the artist is seen in the excellent drawing, as well as in the feeling for the harmony of colour and the keeping of his work. No scholar of David however developed the principle of theatrical effect for the representation of antique subjects with such cold elegance as *Guérin*. We might often imagine that we were looking at plaster casts painted. His *Phædra* and *Hippolytus*, and his *Dido* and *Æneas*, (both in the Luxembourg,) are first-rate specimens of this species of art—a species which, without doubt, has, in its perfect outward forms, something very seducing for all those who do not judge pictures by the genuine individual life dwelling in the work itself. It is only in the *Clytemnestra*, driven by *Ægisthus* to murder her husband, that we find these qualities supported by genuine pathos.”

*Gérard* was one of the most remarkable of David's school. His *Entry of Henri IV.* is really a fine picture. *Géricault's* *Shipwreck of the Medusa* is well known to all visitors of the Louvre. It is most powerful in execution, and equally horrible in the details of which it is composed; but the most fearful specimen of what French artists of real genius will attempt to place upon the canvas, is the picture of the *Deluge* (No. 58, Louvre), by *Giroudet-Trioson*. In it a man has got his father on his back, whilst he pulls up his wife with his right hand, and grasps convulsively the stump of a tree with his left; two children cling to their mother: all,

therefore, depends on the stump of the tree; but that unfortunately is just breaking, so that the whole family in a string—the last of a sinful world—are on the point of falling into the roaring flood. The exaggeration of horror is so great as to become perfectly ludicrous: no technical merits could compensate for such a subject, so treated: unfortunately, however, the composition is angular and disagreeable, whilst the colouring is of a greenish tint, and completely false to nature.

The school of David spread into other countries, and artists of Italy and Spain, such as *Camuccini* and *Aparicio*, exaggerated the statuesque forms, the outrageous expression, and the brick-dust colouring of French models.

It is not my intention however to give any account of the more recent school of France, or of its living artists. The reader knows that such men as *Leopold Robert*, *Granet*, the *Vernets*, *Paul Delaroche*, *Scheffer*, and *Ingres*, deservedly have held, or still hold, a very high place as painters. One thing I will add—it is singular that, whilst the French despise our art with all their souls, the influence of a countryman of our own should have contributed largely to create or restore among them a genuine feeling for picturesque effect. The residence of Bonnington at Paris, and the cleverness of his colour and chiaroscuro, worked upon the French school, and has, in fact, produced a new element in their pictures which is now becoming strongly visible.

## APPENDIX.

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### ON THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT WITH REFERENCE TO THE WORKS OF ART CONTAINED IN THE SUPPRESSED MONASTERIES, ETC.

ON the 13th of June, 1844, a royal ordnance was issued establishing a Central Commission "*de Monumentos Historicos y Artisticos del Reino*," as well as Local or Provincial Commissions, to act in concert with the former body. The first annual report of the Central Commission to the Secretary of State for the Home Department is printed as a pamphlet, and it embraces the proceedings of the Commission in the period between 1st of July, 1844, and 1st of July, 1845. The members of the Commission were Don Martin Fernandez Navarrete, Don Antonio Gil de Zárate, Don José Madrazo, Don Valentin Car-derera, and Don Anibal Alvarez. They divided themselves into three sections, one for libraries and archives, another for painting and sculpture, and a third for architecture and archæology. The section for painting and sculpture was composed of Madrazo and Car-derera, and the copy of the report which I have before me was sent by the latter gentleman to Mr. Ford.

Nothing can be more melancholy than the picture of Spain drawn by this Commission. They tell us that the most valuable contents of the conventual libraries had been thrown away or mutilated, and that thousands of volumes had been sold as waste paper for three or four reals the arroba, and had been exported to enrich foreign libraries. A hope had been entertained of forming collections in each province of pictures and other works of art; the Commission was soon undeceived as to the possibility of effecting this. Baron Taylor and a host of foreign dealers had in some provinces carried off all they could



lay their hands upon ; in others the Commissioners tell us, " Many of the most esteemed works of art, the glory and ornament of the most sumptuous churches, had perished in their application to the vilest uses ; in others scarcely any record was preserved of what had been in existence at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, and no inventory or catalogue of any kind had been made." Our only consolation perhaps is that these books and works of art will be better appreciated in other countries, and we may derive comfort from the views expressed by Madame Hahn-Hahn \*.

It is clear that in such a state of things the plunder and destruction of pictures must have been enormous. In the summary of the proceedings of the Commission with reference to pictures, which I shall proceed to give, the reader will see that all sorts of obstacles to any claim of the central government were raised by the local authorities ; such a course was sometimes no doubt the result of genuine Spanish obstinacy, strong in local attachments, and hating all interference ; but it too often probably originated in the desire to conceal peculation and robbery on the part of the *alcalde*, or the parish priest, or the sacristan, or the porter of a suppressed convent. Let us remember that in all probability no one of these functionaries ever received the salary which was due to him, and that the unfortunate monks turned out of their convents had neither interest nor duty in protecting what had ceased to be theirs. If they did not (as it may be hoped) themselves carry off what they could, they would abandon it to the first plunderer. Added to which, the habitual feeling of every Spaniard is, that what belongs to the government is fair game, and may be stolen with a safe conscience.

When all this is considered, it will not appear surprising that bribery and robbery should have stripped the deserted convents and scattered the memorials of Spanish art and literature. It is greatly to be feared too that the ignorance of the local commissioners will cause many an interesting picture of early date to be thrown on one side as barbarous and rude, and that few such valuable records as the altar of the time of Don Jayme el Conquistador, mentioned as rescued at Valencia, will be preserved at all ; indifferent second-rate copies, or imitations of the Italian and Flemish masters, will probably pass current as the staple article in most of the provincial museums, even where such institutions are finally formed. At any rate, as a picture of the state

\* See above, p. 169.

of Spain with reference to the fine arts, and as a sort of guide to tourists, it may be useful to give, in alphabetical order, as they are enumerated in the report, an abstract of the general result as to the number of paintings got together in each province.

*Alava*.—In December, 1844, 86 pictures worth preserving were reported as collected by the Provincial Commission, whilst 84 were described as mutilated or worthless. Up to May, 1845, no building, proper for their arrangement and reception, had been obtained.

*Albacete*.—In January, 1845, 46 pictures were got together in the "Gefatura política;" of these five were described as belonging to the Valencian school, six to that of Seville, and one to an Italian master; two were copies of Murillo, one an original of Sancho Molina \*, and one of the school of Berruguete.

*Alicante*.—In January, 1845, a museum containing 200 pictures was opened at Orihuela: the process of collecting was still going on in May of that year.

*Almeria*.—Here the existence of any local collection was denied, but accidentally a catalogue was discovered containing a list of 196 pictures, which had been got together in 1837, and had apparently disappeared.

*Avila*.—No report of any pictures had been received.

*Badajoz*.—A museum was about to be formed in the old Franciscan convent.

*Balearic Islands*.—Sixty-two pictures had been placed in the "Monte Sion," a building appropriated to the "Instituto Balear."

*Barcelona*.—Some pictures are collected in the museum, but the number is not given.

*Burgos*.—The Commissioners say, "On seeing the small number of works of art in the province of Burgos, and after examining carefully the communication of the "Gefe Político," dated in April, 1844, together with the inventory which accompanied it, containing only 69 pictures and 13 coins, deposited in the Literary Institution of the capital of the province, we could not refrain from signifying our surprise at finding so poor a museum in a province which was at one time one of the richest in Spain in monasteries."

\* I do not know who this artist was; two obscure artists of the name of *Manuel de Molina* occur in Cean Bermudez's Dictionary.

Up to the date of the report however, it does not appear that this expression of surprise on the part of the Central Commission had extracted any satisfactory explanation on the subject from the local authorities.

*Cáceres*.—Here again the Central Commission could get no account of the works of art which were known to have existed, more especially in the magnificent Hieronymite Monastery of Guadalupe, near Logrosan \*. The Provincial Commission, acting on the authority of that in Madrid, proceeded to ascertain what still remained within the walls of the convent, when they were resisted by the "*Ayuntamiento*" of the town of Guadalupe, who pretended that all that was in the church and convent belonged to the parish, and not to the state.

*Cádiz*.—Those who first collected the pictures took care to catalogue them without giving the subjects or the sizes, and mixed up together paintings and prints, so that it was impossible to say what had been stolen. The report goes on to say that the sale of certain pictures was not less irregular and culpable in itself, than the lawfulness of the manner in which the produce of the sale was applied appeared doubtful. The Local Commission of arts and sciences thought it prudent to abstain from criminal proceedings against any one; but the pictures yet remaining were in such a state of decay that to protect themselves they caused a *procès verbal* to be drawn up setting forth their condition.

*Canary Islands*.—161 pictures of one kind or another had been placed in a museum in these islands.

*Castellon*.—The report of the "Gefe Politico" announces pictures of Vandyke, Zurbaran, Giotto (?), and other celebrated masters, derived from the Carmelite convent in the Desierto de las Palmas, and from other places.

*Ciudad-Real*.—Nothing worth notice seems to have been collected.

*Cordova*.—252 pictures, most of them of course of the Spanish schools, were deposited in disorder in the "Colegio de la Asuncion." Besides the pictures, it is stated that the sword of "El Rey Chico" of Granada has been preserved in the same building.

*Coruña*.—In June, 1844, the "Gefe Politico" announced to the Home Secretary that twenty pictures of the Italian schools had been rescued from the Benedictine convent of Santiago. A misunder-

\* See Ford's Hand-book, Second Edition, p. 264; compare above, p. 130.

standing between the local authorities seems to have prevented any further acquisitions.

*Cuenca*.—All sorts of plunder had gone on here, as elsewhere, but the Local Commissioners seem to have exerted themselves to rescue and place in safety what could yet be secured. The head of the Priory of Santiago de Uclés resisted them. The number of pictures collected is not given.

*Gerona*.—In August, 1842, the "Gefe Politico" reported the existence of certain pictures, as he said, of little merit; but, bad or good, they seem to have disappeared by 1845.

*Granada*.—Here a museum was formed in 1839, and in 1842 a catalogue of 884 pieces of sculpture and painting was transmitted to the Secretary of State. By January, 1844, it would appear that some, probably many, of them had been stolen, and the report does not tell us how many remained.

*Guadalajara*.—It appears that out of 430 pictures a few only were conceived to be originals of any value, and were attributed to Ribera, Zurbaran, Carreño, el Greco, and others, for the most part Spanish masters. 25 were completely ruined.

*Guipuzcoa*.—The civil war in this province has been the cause and the pretext for the disappearance of many works of art. "Since," says the report, "whilst many have been destroyed on the one hand, on the other the state of affairs has thrown a shield over those who have profited by the confusion, and have unjustly appropriated the property of the state."

*Huelva*.—The exertions of the Commission appear to have brought to light some pictures which are public property, but the number or value of them is not stated.

*Huesca*.—A collection of 120 pictures was placed in the building belonging to the "Sociedad Económica."

*Jaen*.—The Local Commission of Jaen in the course of nine months got together 523 pictures, of which they reported 285 as worthless, and placed 238 in the old Jesuit convent. The names of Murillo, Zurbaran, Alonso Cano, Castillo, Orrente, Melgar\*, Juan de Sevilla, Guzman, Coello, Titian, el Greco, and Albano, appear in the catalogue.

\* This, I presume, means Fray Geronimo Melgarejo, an Augustine monk. See Cean Bermudez, *iii.* p. 104.

*Leon*.—"The necessity," says the report, "of quartering troops in the various convents of this province, and the scandalous tricks which we know to have been played with the works of art in the same, are the causes why the catalogue, which was framed in September of last year, appeared so imperfect and so scanty, since the number of objects was reduced to 61 pictures and 3 pieces of sculpture, deposited in the convent of the so-called 'Monjas Catalinas.'" No more favourable account seems to have been received at the time the report was drawn up.

*Lérida*.—Here too the civil war is said to have caused the disappearance of most of the pictures in the convents; only 18 of any merit had been collected in April, 1844, but some more were known to exist in the Seo de Urgel, where the local authorities however refused to give them up to the government. The Commission had not been able to obtain an accurate account even of the eighteen.

*Logroño*.—No satisfactory result had been arrived at in this province, and no museum had been formed.

*Lugo*.—No answer could be obtained from the Local Commission, and it was to be reorganized.

*Malaga*.—A miserable return of six pieces of sculpture and four pictures was all that could be obtained by the Central Commission, and they attribute this result to "the natural indolence and purely mercantile spirit of that district." Probably the facility for exportation had a good deal to do with the disappearance of the various works of art which the report affirms to have been once collected and deposited in various public buildings.

*Murcia*.—In this province the "Gefe Politico" seems to have set his face against doing any thing for the formation of a local museum, and nothing had, in fact, been done.

*Navarre*.—Here the Local Commission appear to have been principally occupied in endeavouring to trace and recover a certain picture, by Carreño, of which the subject was the Foundation of the Order of the Trinity. A few other pictures of no worth had been collected.

*Orense*.—The Local Commission of this province had succeeded in securing as many as 120 pictures and some works of sculpture, which it was supposed would form a respectable museum.

*Oviedo*.—Of 58 pictures collected here only 15 were considered of

any value, and these were, at the date of the report, deposited in the University of Oviedo.

*Palencia.*—The Economical Society had got together 12 pictures of some worth, and others were known to be in the hands of the *alcaldes* of various villages. Finally it seems that 24 more, some which might *perhaps* be attributed to Vandyke, C. Maratti, Guido, and Mateo Cerezo, had been added to the original twelve, and it was intended to set up a local museum.

*Pontevedra.*—The Central Commission knew of the existence of eight portraits of kings in the Benedictine Monastery of Lerez, close to the town. After repeated inquiry, the only answer which could be obtained from the authorities on the spot was one which took no notice of special questions, and roundly asserted that no works of art whatever existed.

*Salamanca.*—In this celebrated city as many as 1061 pictures had been ascertained to exist as public property. These were left in various convents and other buildings until a place fit for the local museum was selected. No exertions however of the Central Commission had been able to get this museum established; the "*Gefe Politico*," among other reasons, alleging (no doubt with perfect truth) the want of funds.

*Santander.*—Whatever pictures were collected had been sold as useless for a very trifling sum.

*Segovia.*—As many as 386 pictures had been deposited in the rooms of the Episcopal Palace, but no proper catalogue of them had been received by the Central Commission.

*Seville.*—This local museum is without doubt the richest in Spain, but the Commission complains bitterly of not having been able to obtain a complete and satisfactory catalogue of its contents.

*Soria.*—A reference to the inventories made in 1835 appeared to the Commission to show that 88 pictures, which then existed, had disappeared, and no explanation could be got from the local authorities on the subject.

*Tarragona.*—The "*Gefe Politico*" of this province sent up a list of certain works of sculpture and antiquities existing in 1844, in the museum of the Archæological Society, and in that of the Academy of the Fine Arts; but no further information had been received notwithstanding the inquiries made by the Central Commission.

*Teruel.*—Twenty-nine pictures had been reported by the Local Com-

mission, who said that they were occupied in tracing others scattered in different places of the province.

*Toledo*.—A certain number of works of art had been deposited in the old convent of St. Pedro-Martin; but as some of the pictures in the suppressed churches and convents had been transferred to Madrid, and the Local Commission of Toledo had no accurate lists of them or of others which were formerly in those buildings, it would seem that the greatest confusion prevailed as to the real amount of public property of this description.

*Valencia*.—The rich museum of this city is established in the old convent of "Carmelitas Calzados," and contains as many as 600 pictures, mostly of the Valencian school. The Central Commission urged the necessity of preparing a full catalogue, and very properly cautioned the authorities of Valencia "not to omit, on any account, those pictures which, though of little worth as paintings, are very important for the history of the art, such as, for instance, an altar in that museum, with paintings of the time of Don Jayme el Conquistador" (1213—1276). There was moreover in the monastery of Murta a gallery of portraits of celebrated poets of Valencia, which are now transferred to the academy of San Carlos. The persons on the spot replied that they had no funds to enable them to classify and catalogue the pictures—a want which the Central Commission in this as in other instances report to the Secretary of State, without the smallest chance, it is to be feared, of obtaining any assistance.

*Valladolid*.—A catalogue of the local museum in this city was published in 1843, by Julian Pastor\*, and the contents appeared to comprise 947 pictures and 229 pieces of carving and sculpture. In the early part of 1845 the Commission exerted themselves (probably too late) to rescue from destruction the frescos in the old convent of St. Pablo, which had been turned into a depôt of galley slaves. In May, 1845, lists of other works of art then in the suppressed convents of San Benito el Real, the Merced Calzada, and San Diego, were transmitted to the Central Commission. All these were in the act of being transferred to the museum, which is, without doubt, one of the most important in Spain.

*Vizcaya*.—In this province the local museum contains 30 pictures, but the report states that the catalogue sent up is the only one

\* Ford's Hand-book, Second Edition, pp. 336—7.

which fulfils all the conditions required by the Central Commission in documents of this kind—that is to say, it sets out the materials, the subjects, the schools, and names of the artists, the supposed merit of each picture, their state of preservation, and the convent whence each came.

*Zamora*.—Here the pictures were left in the various convents, and no inventories had been transmitted to the government. The convents of Toro and Benavente were supposed to be the most important with reference to works of art; but on inquiry the Local Commission reported that nothing remained in them. What few pictures had been got together at Zamora were in a pitiable state.

*Zaragoza*.—Some pictures had been collected in this city, and it was proposed to form a museum in the old convent of Santa Fé, but the Central Commission complain loudly of the sluggishness (*morosidad*) of the Commission of Saragossa.



## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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### PAGE

22. *For* Alonzo, *read* Alonso.  
43, 69, 104, 160, 177, 189. *For* Coreggio *read* Correggio.  
54. *For* Osuña, *read* Osuna.  
69. *For* Lord Francis Egerton, *read* the Earl of Ellesmere.  
75. I believe there is a very fine picture by Alonso Sanchez Coello in the Belvidere, at Vienna.  
78. With reference to the Last Supper of Titian, a letter of the artist's to Philip II. is in existence, dated from Venice, Aug. 5, 1564, which speaks of the picture as just finished, and having been begun seven years before. See Bottari. *Lettere Pittoriche*, ii. p. 481, Lett. cxix.  
82. I am happy to find, from the second edition of the Hand-book, that the picture of the Burial of the Conde de Orgaz still remains in the Church of S<sup>to</sup>. Tomé, at Toledo. Some curious additional information is given by Mr. Ford, with reference to this picture; see p. 487.  
89. *For* Cuença, *read* Cuenca.  
98, 107. *For* Basan, *read* Bassano.  
101, 117. *For* S<sup>t</sup>. *read* San.  
114. *For* College of St. Hermenegild, *read* Hermitage of St. Hermenegild.  
128. *For* Xeres, *read* Xerez.  
130. *For* Guadaloupe, *read* Guadalupe.  
132. In addition to the Zurbarans mentioned in the text, there are, I am told, eight large pictures of patriarchs by this master at Auckland Castle. I have never seen them. They were placed there by Bishop Barrington.  
142. Since the note at the foot of this page was printed, I have to thank Mr. Snare, the owner of the picture to which it relates, for a copy of his pamphlet. I have perused it; but I cannot say that I see sufficient reason to withdraw the opinion already expressed, though I acknowledge his zeal and industry in its behalf.

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146. *For Montañez, read Montañes*; and, lower down, *for St. Plácido, read San Plácido*.
163. Line 3, *for Roclas, read Roelas*.
198. I find that I have read the remark of Murillo on Valdez's picture, as if it were "*esto es preciso verlo con las manos y con las narices*;" instead of "*con las manos en las narices*;" that is to say, "one must stop one's nose when one looks at it." The last is of course right.
252. Query? Is the landscape by Poussin mentioned as belonging to Sir Thomas Baring, the one now in the collection of Mr. Holford?
- 280, 281. *For Lefèvre, read Lefèvre*, several times.
332. If I do not mistake, David painted a horrible picture of the Death of Marat, which represents him in the attitude described in the artist's speech.

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*The Annual Circulation is 12,000 Copies.*

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(N.B. Unmanufactured Tobacco cannot be imported in less Quantity than 200 lbs., or Cigars 100 lbs in a Package; but small quantities are admitted for Private Use on declaration and payment of a Fine of 1s. 6d. per lb. in addition to the Duty.)		
COFFEE, Mocha, and other Foreign Coffee .....	the lb.	0 0 6
" from British Possessions .....	ditto	0 0 4
COINS, of Copper .....	the cwt.	0 10 0
CONFECTIONARY, Sweetmeats, and Succades .....	the lb.	0 0 6
CORDIALS and LIQUEURS (for Bottles, see WINE) .....	the gal.	1 10 4
EAU DE COLOGNE, in Flasks .....	the flask	0 1 0
(N.B. If other than the ordinary Flasks 30s. 6d. the Gallon and the Bottle Duty.)		
EMBROIDERY and NEEDLEWORK .....	for every £100 value	20 0 0
FLOWERS, Artificial, of Silk .....	ditto	25 0 0
GLASS, Flint or Cut, coloured and Fancy Ornamental Glass, of whatever kind (after the 5th October, 1846) .....	the lb.	0 0 4
GLASS, White Flint Bottles, not cut or ornamented .....	ditto	0 0 1
" Wine Glasses, Tumblers, and all other White Flint-Glass Goods, not cut nor ornamented .....	the lb.	0 0 2
GLOVES, Leather (not less than 100 dozen pairs can be imported in one package) .....	the doz. pair	0 3 6
MACCARONI and VERMICELLI .....	the lb.	0 0 1
MARBLE, manufactured .....	the cwt.	0 3 0
MOSAIC Work and Sculptured Stone .....	the ton	0 10 0
NAPLES SOAP .....	the cwt.	1 0 0
OLIVES .....	the gal.	0 2 0
PAINTINGS on GLASS, or Figured Glass .....	the superficial foot	0 1 6
PAPER-HANGINGS, Flock Paper, and Paper printed, painted, or stained .....	the square yard	0 0 2
PICTURES .....	each	0 1 0
" and further .....	the square foot	0 1 0
" being 200 square feet and upwards .....	each	10 0 0
PRINTS and DRAWINGS, plain or coloured, single .....	ditto	0 0 1
" bound or sewn .....	the doz.	0 0 3
SAUSAGES .....	the lb.	0 0 1
SILK, MILLINERY, Turbans or Caps .....	each	0 3 6
" Hats or Bonnets .....	ditto	0 7 0
" Dresses .....	ditto	1 10 0
" HANGINGS, and other Manufactures of Silk .....	for every £100 value	15 0 0
" VELVETS, plain or figured .....	the lb.	0 9 0
" Articles thereof .....	ditto	0 10 0
STONE from Malta .....	the ton	0 1 0
TEA .....	the lb.	0 2 1
WINE in Casks, all except Cape Wine .....	the gal.	0 5 6
" in Bottles, .....	ditto	0 5 6
" and further on the Bottles .....	the cwt.	0 1 6
SPIRITS in Casks (no Cask can be imported of less contents than Twenty Gallons) .....	the gal.	0 15 0
SPIRITS in Bottles (the additional Duty on the Bottles, as on Wine Bottles.)		

# MESSRS. J. & R. M<sup>c</sup>CRACKEN,

7 OLD JEWRY, LONDON,

AGENTS BY APPOINTMENT TO THE ROYAL ACADEMY,

AND

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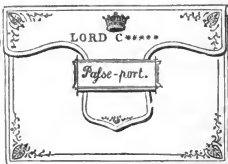
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